

Africa Digest

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CENTRAL AFRICA Congo

African Government

THE results of the elections were:

National Congolese Movement (M.N.C.) Lumumba group	35
National Progressive Party (P.N.P.)	22
African Solidarity Party (P.S.A.)	13
Abako	12
Central African Regrouping (C.R.A.)	10
M.N.C. Kalondj group	8
Balubakat	7
Various others	22

King Baudoin of the Belgians attended the ceremony of independence in Leopoldville on July 1. After a period of confused political manoeuvres, M. Patrice Lumumba, 34, formed a Government and M. Joseph Kasavubu, leader of the Abako Party, was made Head of the State. M. Moise Tshombe, leader of the Conakat Party, which constitutes the majority element in the copper-mining province of Katanga, complained that his party had not been given enough places in the Coalition Cabinet and there was continued talk of secession by Katanga. To take in all the interests which demanded representation, the Cabinet is large and unwieldy. The average age is 35. In earlier negotiations M. Gunshof van der Meersch, the Belgian Resident Minister in the Congo, had invited first M. Lumumba and later M. Kasavubu to form Governments. At one stage he was reported to be taking M. Kasavubu's list of Ministers, which did not include M. Lumumba, to Brussels to put before the Belgian Cabinet. However it became clear that though the two groups were of almost equal strength, M. Lumumba could command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies (the lower house) where his candidates for President and the two Vice-Presidents of the Assembly were elected.

In Katanga there was similarly confusion between the two rival groups, Conakat and Balubakat. The Balubakat, the minority party, three times brought the proceedings of the Provincial Assembly to a halt by walking out and thus preventing the presence of the necessary two-thirds quorum. The Belgian Parliament rushed through an amendment reducing the quorum, though the Socialist Party abstained from voting in both Houses.

The Balubakat Party led by M. Jason Sendwe and the Conakat Party under M. Tshombe are largely tribal groups. The Conakat Party has registered a branch in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. So great was the tension created by the threat of secession and the deadlock between the parties that a State of Emergency was declared by the Provincial Governor, M. A. Schoeller, on June 14.

The Economist (June 25) said: "If the Congo does survive as a recognizable entity in the coming months, Black Africa will consider that it has justified beyond question its capability for self-government elsewhere. If it disintegrates, as a good number of eyes covertly watching it from the south and east confidently expect it to do, the resistance to African emancipation in Africa's remaining colonial or semi-colonial territories could stiffen into horrified rigidity. Either way the problems of British policy

will not be diminished. . . . It is probable that, outside the unlikely event of a wider African political unity coming into being, the Congo's existing borders will eventually give way to new groupings that seem less artificial in the context of African allegiances and geographical facts. The Bakongo ambition to dominate a political grouping with some sense of historic and geographic unity in the lower Congo basin is not necessarily either unreasonable or ignoble. It can equally be argued that the form of economic community that is evolving in the Katanga and Northern Rhodesia encourages, inevitably, a common sense of identity when set against the interests of more pastoral and poorer communities in the vicinity. The real question is how such changes in the system of frontiers, linguistic as well as economic, that European rule has imposed can best be brought about. . . . M. Lumumba, having mustered the necessary parliamentary majority at the eleventh hour, is now determined to make the Congo work within its existing borders. How far Belgian activities since the elections last month have hampered his efforts remains uncertain. Other African leaders on the threshold of power have been able to rely on a dominant political party whose authority has become apparent in the preliminary struggle for independence. The natural outcome has been the unitary state that M. Sékou Touré and Dr. Nkrumah have constructed: Mr. Mboya is at present engaged in organizing a colony-wide party of this kind in Kenya. M. Lumumba's intention to follow suit after independence is bound to be prejudiced by the continuing tribal and provincial consciousness in the Congo, and by the very federal system that the Belgians are leaving behind. . . . The Belgians have themselves lifted the last barrier to one-party rule in the individual provinces at the insistence of the Conakat leaders in Katanga. . . . The worst outcome for the Congo, and for its neighbours, would be if the centrifugal forces there were to bring about its disintegration before the remainder of Central Africa has contrived to put its house in order. The former French colony of Congo has still to decide whether its future lies in association with the Bakongo peoples, or with the three other Equatorial states to the north. Portuguese Angola is still a question mark on the political map. Katanga's impulses to join Northern Rhodesia would have greater purpose if Northern Rhodesia possessed its own African Government. A good many false openings and blind alleys will have to be explored before Central Africa discovers its destiny."

Confusion and Mutiny

Ten days after independence, the Prime Minister of Belgium, M. Eyskens, announced that throughout the Congo the Force Publique was in revolt. M. Auguste de Schryver, Belgian Minister for African Affairs, and M. Walter Ganshoff van der Meersch, former Minister for the Congo, left immediately for Leopoldville accompanied by a party of four officials. They were, said the Premier, going to try to establish "direct contact" between the Belgian Government and the new Congolese Government. The Prime Minister said the Force Publique had ceased to be a military instrument to become a redoubtable political instrument.

The Belgian Cabinet received reports of troubles in Katanga, at Goma, on the shores of Lake Kivu in east Congo; Matadi, the Congo's only sea port, where 200 Europeans are reported to be held prisoner by the Congolese; and at Boma, in the lower Congo. According to an official announcement by the Katanga Provincial Government there was an armed rebellion in the Province. A Belgian administrator and a Portuguese settler, whose

names were not released, were killed by soldiers who fired at Europeans fleeing from Kongolo. (*Observer*, July 10.)

European families were being hurriedly evacuated by air to Belgium or by road across the borders into neighbouring territories.

The British Government refused a request from Mr. Moise Tshombe, Premier of Katanga Province, that the troops now stationed on the Northern Rhodesian side of the frontier be brought into Katanga to help restore order there. The request, which the British Government was asked to pass on to the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was made to the British Consul in Elisabethville. *The Times* (July 11) said that technically the reply to the Katanga request was a matter for the Federal Government. But as the British recommended its rejection, and more particularly as the request was not made by the official Government of the Congo Republic, it would be difficult for the Federal Government to respond. By doing so it would lay itself open to charges of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, for Mr. Tshombe's request was not supported by the Congo Government.

Four aircraft loads of parachute troops flew into Elisabethville, where five Europeans were killed on July 9, and parachute troops have also intervened at Kongola, where a Belgian and a Portuguese were killed. No shots were fired, and the local Europeans were evacuated as quickly as possible. Belgian troops intervened to protect Europeans in Katanga at the request of Mr. Bomboko, the Foreign Minister of the Congo Republic, and of Mr. Tshombe, Prime Minister of the Katanga province.

In a broadcast message, President Kasavubu appealed to the nation to uphold order. Mr. Lumumba, who also broadcasted to the people, protested "most energetically" against the intervention of Belgian troops without the approval of the Congo Government. "This would be a violation of our national sovereignty," he said. (*The Times*, July 11.)

It was reported that large numbers of Belgian refugees were entering Uganda and Northern Rhodesia. Except for a few servants accompanying their masters, no Africans were reported among the refugees.

Nyasaland

Dr. Banda Returns

On his return from Britain and America, Dr. H. K. Banda was greeted at the airport by a crowd of over 13,000 people. There were no incidents.

Dr. Banda said that Mr. Julius Nyerere and he were in full agreement about their plans for a Federation of Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Belgian Congo, Uganda and Northern Rhodesia. He said: "Once Nyasaland is free I will be only too prepared to play second fiddle to any other African leader. The first thing we must do is get out of this Federation." His immediate plans were to go on a tour of the Provinces of Nyasaland and he confirmed that he intended resuming his medical practice in Limbe immediately. (*Rhodesia Herald*, May 11.)

End of the Emergency

On June 15, Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor, announced the end of the state of emergency. The official statement said: "In the circumstances I am satisfied that, although conditions in the territory are not yet wholly normal, it is now possible to abandon the powers provided by the emergency regulations without endangering public order. I have, therefore, today brought into force the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance and the Detained Persons (Special Provisions) Ordinance. These powers are designed to enable the Government to secure the public peace. They are not as extensive as those which were available to me under the emergency regulations: I consider it necessary to invoke them in present circumstances only to the extent of maintaining, in place of all the emergency regulations which now lapse, two measures relating to the control of meetings and to the residence and movement of persons. These measures I regard as the minimum necessary to bring the territory peacefully through the transitional period between the revocation of the formal state of emergency and the restoration of entirely normal conditions. The exercise of the powers will be kept under continuous review."

The statement added that the Governor had decided that it was necessary to continue to detain a small number of persons previously detained under the emergency regulations. Each of these persons would remain in detention until he was satisfied that they could be released without serious prejudice to public safety and order. Individual cases would continue to be kept under review. (*The Times*, June 15.)

On the new security¹ legislation, the *Guardian* (May 11) said: "The regulations which have governed Nyasaland since March last year are seen to be like the wooden framework which is removed when the cement inside has set. . . . Two things need to be said about this form of government. First, it presupposes that the conditions which gave rise to the emergency are likely to rise again. It gives warning of the possibility, if not the likelihood, that the Government will continue to act without the consent of the governed. It is abnormal legislation, envisaging the continuance of an abnormal situation. Secondly, it is repugnant to our ideals of government—ideals which, it has many times been said, are one of our noblest contributions to countries for whose good order we have been responsible. It reduces government to a contest of wills in which the winning side can alter rules to perpetuate its superiority. Actions that formerly were illegal become legal because the Government finds them convenient. It is sad to think that when, in a few years, an African Government takes over in Nyasaland this is to be the legal apparatus it inherits." (*Guardian*, May 11.)

The *Observer* (May 15) said it repeated "the highly questionable formula first used when the Kenya emergency ended. . . . Detention without trial is justified only in cases of grave emergency. Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights, to which the British Government is a party for itself and forty-two dependent territories (including Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), prohibits any imprisonment without trial. And Article 15 provides for release from this obligation only in the direst circumstances."

In addition to the Ordinances mentioned in the Governor's statement, the Nyasaland Government introduced the Protected Places and Areas Bill to cover places such as airfields, bridges, water and food supplies, tele-

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

graph installations, and power stations. The Chief Secretary, Mr. G. S. Jones, said measures could be taken to control the conduct and behaviour of people who enter them. . . . Similar legislation existed in other countries, for example, the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, and more recently, Northern Rhodesia. (*Press Release No. 197/60*.)

Sentences for Manslaughter and Rioting

Schalk William Laljard, a European, and John Trinidad, a Coloured, were convicted in the High Court on a charge of manslaughter. The case followed the death of an African at a bar. Laljard was fined £100 to be paid in compensation to the widow of the dead man and Trinidad was ordered to pay £5. Both were bound over to keep the peace for two years and barred from staying in all licensed premises after 10 p.m. They were both barred from returning to the bar where the incident occurred.

Five African men were sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour each and an African woman was sentenced to seven months when they appeared before the Resident Magistrate on charges arising out of the disturbances in Mlanje in March. The incidents started when people from Chinyama Village pulled down the tents of the Assistant District Commissioner and an Agricultural Officer on March 21. It was reported that a crowd, mainly women, pulled down the tents "for no apparent reason". Villagers were questioned the following day and when the police were returning to Mlanje with some arrested ringleaders they encountered several small road blocks. At one point a crowd of about 300 Africans blocked the road.

The District Commissioner spoke to the crowd but it refused to disperse and the Riot Act was read. The woman was found guilty of unlawful assembly and the men of rioting after proclamation. (*Nyasaland Times*, May 10.)

Southworth Inquiry Report

The report of Mr. Justice Southworth, the commissioner appointed to inquire into incidents outside a Blantyre hotel during the visit of Mr. Harold Macmillan, cleared the Nyasaland police of allegations of brutality in controlling the crowd.

At the same time it strongly criticized some British newspapermen who filed dispatches of the event to their newspapers and later gave evidence at the inquiry. Evidence was taken concerning the incident in which thirty-six Africans, including three women, were arrested when about 500 demonstrators yelled slogans and brandished placards outside the hotel where Mr. Macmillan was attending a civic lunch. (*Guardian*, May 18.)

Constitutional Discussions

The Colonial Secretary has published proposals as to the composition of the constitutional conference due to start in London on July 25. The United Federal Party and Malawi Congress Party would each be invited to nominate four delegates. In addition, the Congress Liberation Party should nominate one. The Asian community should be represented by two members, and the Coloured community by one. He also suggested that two African Members of Legislative Council should attend, and that the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, may wish to be accompanied by two or three senior officers.

Mr Macleod asked for the nominations to be submitted to him, together with any proposals for delegates to be accompanied by advisers who would not be members of the conference. He said the composition of each delegation in full must be settled and approved well in advance of the conference itself. (*Press Release*, May 2.)

Dr. Banda announced that because he trusted Mr. Macleod he would take part in the talks, even though some of the African leaders were still in detention.

On June 2, there were fifty-two Africans still detained of whom thirty-five, including Mr. H. B. Chipembere, former M.L.C., and the Chisiza brothers were in Kanjedza Camp. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 3.)

Grant Refused

The Nyasaland Government has returned to the Rhodesian Selection Trust a grant of £90,000 which had been offered for use to encourage

African coffee-growing co-operatives in Northern Nyasaland. The Government said that the people had been persuaded by officers of the Malawi Congress Party that the gift was a trap and might cause them to lose their lands. The Company said that no conditions had been attached to the gift which was made in recognition of the fact that quite a large proportion of their African labour force in the Copperbelt came from Nyasaland. Originally the Africans had been enthusiastic about the scheme. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 30.)

Rhodesia, Northern

Constitutional Talks

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, after meeting Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, National President of the United National Independence Party, in London, said that he adhered fully to the decision that this was not the time to consider a change in the Constitution. He had been gravely disturbed by reports from the Government of Northern Rhodesia that there had been widespread propaganda by members of U.N.I.P. implying that a major constitutional change would be made, and even that self-government would be achieved this year. Such misleading statements could have serious and dangerous consequences: and he had said in the House on May 10 the growing tendency to violence which the recent events in the Western Province exemplified had its roots in extremist political agitation.

He reminded Mr. Kaunda that he had emphasized that violence inevitably retarded political progress, and that it must be realized that Her Majesty's Government was not amenable to pressure of this kind. Her Majesty's Government had no plans in contemplation for altering the Constitution in Northern Rhodesia, which had been in operation for little more than a year.

He said that he fully understood that the demand for early constitutional change sprang largely from the fear that the African voice would go unheard at the Federal Review: but he gave again an explicit assurance that African opinion in Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland will be represented at the Federal Review Conference. It was too early for the Governments to choose the delegations or to say precisely what their composition might be; but they would be widely representative and would not be confined to members of the present Legislative Councils. (*Colonial Office Information Department*, May 20.)

The African 1960 Committee in London whose members include Mr. Christopher Chataway, M.P. (Conservative), Mr. Richard Hornby, M.P. (Conservative), the Earl of March, Mr. James Lemkin, Sir Robin Williams, Mr. L. B. Greaves and Dr. Roland Olivier issued a statement in which they said: "There exists today in Northern Rhodesia a political situation potentially so explosive that it calls for immediate action by H.M. Government. It is clear that African opinion there is dissatisfied with the present constitutional situation as it is in Nyasaland. Yet whereas in Nyasaland it has become obvious that a large measure of political advance will be granted within a matter of months, in Northern Rhodesia the Colonial Secretary has said that there will be no change before next year."

"The main political leaders, including Mr. Kaunda, have declared for non-violence, yet, working under oppressive restrictions on political activity and with no gains to show, their power to lead the masses is being steadily eroded, and the way made open for forces far more subversive. The danger is that, especially with total independence coming on the Belgian side of the Copperbelt, disturbances will begin in Northern Rhodesia, leading to the familiar and regrettable cycle of violence followed by forcible repression, from which once started it is always so difficult to recover . . . it is essential that the non-violent political leaders of Northern Rhodesia should be given something to hope for, and that they should be given it now." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 30.)

Colour Bar in Hotels

The Race Relations Conciliation Committee has reported that after listening for more than a year to arguments which suggested that legislation

to compel hotels and restaurants to admit decently dressed and well behaved Africans could not be enforced and to the contention of restaurant and cafe proprietors that to be forced to admit the few Africans who can afford local prices would mean a heavy loss of European custom, it has concluded that the consequences of neglecting to legislate could be worse than the difficulties that might arise from the legislation. On the strength of this view the Northern Rhodesian legislature is likely to have a bill before its next session making exclusion from restaurants and hotels solely on the grounds of colour illegal and punishable. (*Guardian*, June 3.)

The report also recommended that constitutional alterations should be put through since at present technical training of Non-Africans is the Federal Government's responsibility, the Territorial Government's authority being limited to African technical education. The report said: "Every endeavour should be made to overcome the constitutional difficulties to enable members of all races to have some training at same institutions. If this could be accomplished not only would it improve race relations and the implementation of partnership, but the cost would be reduced, thus enabling a greater number to be trained than would otherwise be the case. Whilst recognizing the constitutional difficulties involved, the committee regards the question of unified technical education for students of all races to be a matter of the greatest urgency." (*Guardian*, June 3.)

Violence in the Copperbelt

Mrs. L. Burton, 39, died in Ndola hospital as a result of injuries received when she and her two children were attacked and set on fire by a crowd of Africans.

The African National Congress said: "We are greatly grieved by the wanton attack on Mrs. Burton and her children, and by Mrs. Burton's subsequent tragic death which we greatly deplore. We wish to state that the policy of the African National Congress has always been and will continue to be political advancement by non-violent means. The Congress desires a Government representative of all races resident in the territory with the power to rule in the hands of the owners of the country. The Congress has no wish to destroy anything or any person now in Northern Rhodesia: it desires a peaceful life for all people."

Mr. K. Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, speaking in London, expressed his regret at the death of Mrs. Burton. He said: "I deplore it; I don't know who did it, but it is all wrong. Whether it was hooliganism or political stupidity, violence is violence. We can only find a solution to our present political situation if we cool our minds. Any one who resorts to violence is a man who must be brought to law—I don't care who he is. Violence, whatever its sources, I condemn without reserve in that it leads to loss of life, property and happiness—the very things we are trying to secure and protect."

"I know the rude and provocative manner adopted by most White officials and police officers. Distant as I am from my country, I wish to appeal to my countrymen to refrain from any acts of violence and to remain calm and dignified no matter how trying the circumstances." (*Guardian*, May 17.)

Addressing the Legislative Council the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, said: "I and my Government are resolute that violence in all its manifestations shall be stamped out, and that the right of law-abiding citizens to go about their business peaceably and without fear of intimidation and unprovoked attack shall be preserved." The Government, he emphasized, was not, however, "blind to the need for examining and seeking to eliminate legitimate causes of grievance and unrest".

The Governor said that, while he was glad to note the condemnation of violence issued by U.N.I.P., he could not overlook their apparent intention of embarrassing the Government as much as possible through campaigns of non-violence. There would be no change in Northern Rhodesia's constitution in 1960. "I trust that no political leader will continue to mislead his followers to expect that radical constitutional changes are just around the corner and so harm the security and stability of Northern Rhodesia. The Government will not be hustled into rapid political changes under pressure of lawlessness." (*The Times*, June 15.)

In the House of Lords (May 25) Lord Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies, told Lord Chorley that he would seek more information on the link between Mrs. Burton's death and political groups or activities.

The Guardian (May 14) commented: "Too much pleasure and too little hard work has marred the leadership of the National Congress which has lost ground. The more extremist U.N.I.P. leaders know that they are not the last leaders, that others may overtake them and catch the falling plums. They are not the only politicians to whom quick personal power and all that goes with it is a great counter-attraction to the securing of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. They prefer the example of Cyprus to that of Nigeria. To maintain maximum but non-violent political and economic pressure, to speed still faster the African emancipation that is coming soon in terms of years—this will not do for them. Those of their people who will not follow them, and there are many, must be terrorized into doing so. Hatred of the Whites must be brought to boiling point, particularly of those who in such growing numbers are speeding the necessary reforms which they themselves, though this is not their fault, have failed to achieve."

"It is this kind of thinking and preaching by some at the top and more lower down the U.N.I.P. scale which directly or indirectly lies beneath the recent brutal attacks with fire, stones, and clubs on persons of both races. Admittedly, social and economic conditions that should long since have been ameliorated have bred ready agents for this cowards' work, which is setting back, not forward, the progress of a decent people."

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Ndola (Rt. Rev. Francis Mazzieri) warned that Catholics who threw stones at cars and stores or intimidated others would be excommunicated. (*Northern News*, May 14.)

Mr. W. Kazokah, Member of the Legislative Council (U.F.P.), was attacked and beaten unconscious near his house in Lusaka. His wife, who went to his aid, was also attacked. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 1.)

Trouble in the Schools¹

A Commission of Inquiry has been appointed to inquire into recent outbreaks of indiscipline at African schools and colleges. It is to be under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Harragin, an Appeal Judge for the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

The other two members of the Commission are Mr. H. F. Makulu, a former schoolmaster who is Copperbelt Youth Secretary of the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia, and Chief Mapanza of the Tonga, also a former schoolmaster.

The Hodgson Technical Training College, Lusaka, will reopen in August. None of the 365 former students will be allowed to return. Not more than 200 new students will be enrolled. (*Central Africa Post*, May 25.)

Social Service Training

A grant of £60,000 spread over five years has been made by the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust to the training committee of the Northern Rhodesia Council of Social Service to establish a multi-racial college of social service for Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The college is to be sited in Lusaka. (*Central Africa Post*, May 23.)

Rhodesia, Southern

The Prime Minister on the Constitution

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, told the United Federal Party Congress that he had a "good rip-roaring row" with the British Government about constitutional changes. Further discussions had been fixed for September, and the British representatives had been invited to Rhodesia. There would be a general election either in 1960 or more probably in May 1961. If the negotiations on the constitution were successful, an upper house would be established in April or May. It would have strong African representation.

Sir Edgar said: "We must see that uncertainty is killed once and for all when the talks on the Federal constitution end, and we must bring home to the extremists how complicated the machinery of government is. Those who think the position of the European may be entrenched by embarking on a policy of going back thirty years are only trying to lead us into unhappiness and strife. And African leaders who think the Government can

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

be taken over immediately and run better than by the Europeans are leading their people into utter misery."

He also said that the Government was working out a scheme for a universal identity card for Africans, to take the place of the present registration certificate. He said: "This is a reserve measure and may have to be considered by the British Government."

Some form of identification is essential to protect local labour from foreign competition, and for use in courts and savings banks. The new system would probably cost £300,000. The congress accepted a resolution that the pass laws should be reviewed.

A resolution was also passed asking the Government to investigate changes in the Land Apportionment Act. Legislation to amend the Act is expected at the next session of Parliament. The Government was further asked to consider allowing Africans to buy spirits. The law already allows them to buy beer of the European type.

Mr. H. J. Quinton took over the portfolio of Native Affairs from Sir Edgar Whitehead on July 1. (*The Times*, June 18 and 20.)

Dominion Party Leadership

Mr. W. Harper was re-elected president of the Dominion Party in Southern Rhodesia at the annual party congress in Salisbury. Speaking to the congress Mr. Harper said: "Southern Rhodesia comes first and last with me!" Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were "purposeless" to him unless they served Southern Rhodesia's purpose. He said that as soon as he was elected Southern Rhodesian leader, he had gone to Mr. Field (the Federal leader) and asked him and other Dominion Party members of the Federal Parliament to resign and concentrate on Southern Rhodesian affairs. He said that he wanted Mr. Field as leader and would serve under him. There was no dissension within the party on racial matters; dissension came "purely and solely on whether we are going to consider Southern Rhodesia only or territories outside Southern Rhodesia as well." . . . Since federation the people of Southern Rhodesia had lost their pride of identity. The electorate was "sick and tired" of hearing the words "federal" and "partnership". The Federation had failed its constitution and had reduced Southern Rhodesia to instability.

Mr. Field, the Federal leader, told the congress that the Dominion Party was not prepared to change its policies at "every little breeze that blows" within the party and the country.

Mr. Winston Field and Mr. Harper subsequently issued a statement which said: "We, in common with all Southern Rhodesians, are united in our belief that whatever solution is found to present political problems, it must ensure Southern Rhodesia's integrity and its independence in any association with other territories which may be devised."

The Territorial leader of the Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden, warned the south that he would not support a policy which was based purely on the interests of Southern Rhodesia without regard for the rights of other parts of the Federation. He would not be associated with any move to break up the Federation. "I am familiar with the defects of federation, and would like to see far-reaching reforms, but I am convinced that a mere reversion to the pre-federation position will prove a catastrophe for all concerned, including Southern Rhodesia," he said. (*Federation Newsletter*, June 17.)

Attempt at Confederate Revival

The Confederate, a new political paper, has appeared supporting the views of the Confederate Party which has virtually been out of existence for four years. The paper called for Southern Rhodesia to "join South Africa and smash the Native vote!" Its articles warned against the dangers of Black and White partnership, opposed African enfranchisement and advocated European supremacy and apartheid, or "separate development". It said: "The Europeans of Southern Rhodesia are almost without friends of international status. This is the sad fact we must face . . . we have only two friends left in the world—South Africa and Portugal."

If ever in power, the Confederates would withhold the vote from Africans, repeal every Act of partnership, and "close down the press which is brainwashing you into believing that partnership can work". (*Rhodesia Herald*, May 2.)

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

Progress in the Federation

The Prime Minister

THE Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said that he had made it quite clear to the British Government that the irresponsible, extreme and revolutionary side of African nationalism had to be stopped in its tracks. If it was a question of finding Africans who had strength and qualities of leadership and Africans who preferred the ways of peace for the furtherance of their legitimate aspirations, then there were plenty.

It was nonsense to say that no African in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland supported federation. If this was so then why were there cases of intimidation of Africans for political reasons? Why were there the vile hut burnings and petrol throwing and the constant and deliberate spreading of fear? There was a host of Africans who opposed the methods and purposes of extreme African nationalism, but their opposition was being put down ruthlessly to give a clear field to extreme propaganda.

Later speaking at Ndola he said that politically Africans had advanced much faster in Northern Rhodesia than Europeans. Their advance had been at "almost breakneck speed". They did not achieve direct African representation until 1948, but since then the increase of their numbers in the legislature has been very rapid. In addition, British-protected persons were now entitled to vote—something that did not exist ten years ago.

On the economic side African advancement had been "terrific" and earnings, even in recognized African occupations, had jumped many times. "I can remember the time when a fully grown African male was willing to work for 7s. 6d. a month and his food—and that is not so long ago either. But, perhaps, to get this into perspective it would not be a bad thing to make a comparison with the conditions that existed before the White man came. Is it necessary to remind some of our African politicians who say there has been no progress that, when they were solely in command, slave-trading was a well-known pastime and the rule of one man one vote, so easily demanded and a battle cry of these days, was completely unknown? Yet I am the last one to suggest this is a correct yardstick to use, and I am also willing to concede that progress is necessary if one is to have a satisfied community. But I think it is ludicrous to suggest that African advancement has not been rapid."

Sir Roy said of partnership: "Policies of extreme nationalism—whether it is White or Black—have certainly failed in Africa. Events to the north and south of us have provided tragic and conclusive proof of this. I think that in our own case genuine partnership has gone ahead as well and as quickly as has been possible. I personally do not believe it is possible to legislate for social behaviour in the more intimate fields. But I am certain that as the economic gap lessens between the races so the contacts will improve. But it will be there so long as poverty is our main problem—and the best and only way to get rid of that is through economic development . . . in ten years' time the Federation will be the only country in the African continent still flying the Union Jack. I believe that a welter of conflict in Africa between ideologies of the East and West will develop, and the Federation offers the best hope of stability and harmony. I am satisfied that the Monckton Commission will go a considerable way to providing that stability."

"I am equally convinced that the development of the natural resources of the Federal area will bring home very clearly to the United Kingdom and the United States the need for stable government here. The tragedy to my mind is that both Britain and America are still prepared to risk the loss of good friends and of established and tried constitutions, for the doubtful privilege of winning doubtful friends who indulge in the most risky systems of government . . . the star of democracy seems to be waning very, very fast. Unhappily there seems to be more dictatorships in the western world today, recognized and accepted, than there were in 1938. Students of history must be gravely concerned at present trends in democratic forms of government. It looks to me as though the majority of the

human race do not really care for it as a system of government." (*Federation Newsletter*, June 3, 10, 17.)

Of Communism, the Prime Minister said: "We of this continent are today sitting on the greatest untapped mineral resources known to exist in the world. Secondly, of all the continents in the world Africa has the largest number of people uncommitted either to the East or West; and thirdly, our opponents in the East have two objects: they want either to obtain control over both the mineral and human resources of Africa in their bid for world domination, or to deny that control to the West in the event of an East/West struggle.

"One has only got to see the extent to which Communist interest in the African continent is now speeding up to realize the rightness of my statements. It is no secret that one of the political parties of the Belgian Congo is very much under the influence of Communism. We already know one other African state that has almost sold itself, body and soul, to the opponents of the West. . . .

"Whilst the so-called backward areas of Africa, such as our own country, have made considerable progress, that progress bears no relation whatsoever to the progress made by the industrialized countries of the West during the same period. And it is against this background that I think it timely to issue a warning: if the anti-Communist countries really believe that they are going to get the uncommitted masses of the African continent to line up with them, then they must face up to the reality of the situation which is that more must be done to assist in the development of the countries of Africa. The Colombo plan has proved of tremendous assistance to the South-East Asian countries, and the distribution of surplus foodstuffs, the provision of technical aid both in the field of skill and education, are and have been of great value; but that is not, in my opinion, the solution to Africa's particular problems. We of course want skill and we want aid, but what we also want in particular is the development of the mineral resources of this part of the world, linked to some system which will produce reasonable but stable prices. . . ."

Sir Roy Welensky said that the intentions of the United Kingdom Government were clear: "Both the Conservatives and the Socialist Parties, if not by word, certainly by deed, have clearly indicated that it is their desire to get rid of the Colonial Empire as quickly as they can, and events on the African continent, I think, fully support what I am saying to you.

"We have seen a country like Somalia pass from a state which had never had a Legislative Council to independence in the flash of an eye. And there can only be one explanation of this kind of act. It must be one of deliberate policy. Now let us accept that, but let us recognize what it means for us. I am satisfied that the Government of the United Kingdom wants to hand over its responsibilities as quickly as it can. It is our task now in Africa, or at least in that part of Africa with which we are concerned, to see that the practice does not get out of hand.

"I am anxious to see Northern Rhodesia move on to a greater degree of responsible government within the Federation and I can tell you that the United Federal Party is 100 per cent behind that; but at the same time it has got to be borne in mind that any responsible government created in Northern Rhodesia has got to be the type of government that is responsible in the widest sense of the word, and one which must have the confidence not only of the majority of people within Northern Rhodesia, but also of the outside world, otherwise we shall get nowhere with it."

The two greatest dangers were Communist influence from outside and the "laager mentality" within, "which seems to hold that you can go back almost to days of the wagons formed into a laager, with the women putting the powder and the bullets into the guns". (*Rhodesian Newsletter*, June 17.)

The Business Men

Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa Ltd., Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, said in a report to his company: "African discontent is not directed primarily against discriminatory legislation but against the existence of the Federation as such. In the economic sphere the high hopes that were entertained when the Federation was formed have been more than realized and all races have shared in the general prosperity. Politically, and socially also, the African population has probably ad-

vanced faster and farther in the last six years than in the whole history of the country.

"Nevertheless, influenced by what has happened in quite different circumstances in other African territories to the north, certain African politicians in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have succeeded in inducing a large part of the African population in these territories to believe, in contradiction to the plain facts, that Federation is an instrument of racial oppression and that they would be much better off without it.

"Recently the whole situation has been further complicated and race relations seriously embittered by a number of senseless attacks by bands of African hooligans on both Europeans and Africans. In one case these attacks resulted in the murder of a European woman and the injury of her two children. Barbaric incidents of this sort, which fortunately are isolated and which are condemned by reasonable African opinion, must be countered by firm action, but it is of the utmost importance that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, and throughout the Federation, should not allow their indignation at these incidents to divert them from the policy of partnership. I am confident that they will not do so." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 9.)

Mr. J. Schlesinger, a South African millionaire, said that the African Life Assurance Society which he controls is to erect two buildings costing £100,000 each in Northern Rhodesia and presently a third. He had confidence in the Federation which was here to stay. Recent unrest in Northern Rhodesia was of little importance.

Sir Jock Campbell, chairman of Booker Bros. McConnell, said in his annual report: "No form of federation or association in Central Africa can command African acceptance and support if its effect, however veiled, is to inhibit African constitutional progress in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to sustain European domination. The choice in Africa does not lie between continuing White supremacy and early effective African constitutional advancement. The catastrophic events in South Africa have finally shown that the doctrine of White supremacy is as dangerous and unworkable as it is wrong and inhuman. African constitutional advancement there must be. The choice lies between its achievement by constructive and imaginative statesmanship or in violence and bitterness."

University Progress

Mr. S. Ngcobo, M.A., who took degrees at Yale University and at Fort Hare, has been appointed as lecturer in economics at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He is the first African lecturer. Until recently he was head of the department of economics at Fort Hare.

The Federal Government has promised grants of £1.9 million to the college over the 5-year period 1961-1965. The grant for the first 5-year period was £750,000. The Municipal Association of Southern Rhodesia is to increase the annual grant from local authorities from £4,000 to £6,800. This figure is to be reviewed annually. The Association is seeking permission from the Government to use profits from the sale of African beer to finance part of the grant.

The Churches and Federation

The Archbishop of York, the Most Rev. Michael Ramsey, said during a visit to Northern Rhodesia that partnership could not be brought about by the waving of a wand or the shouting of slogans, but "by patiently—though not inactively—learning to put into practice a certain way of life". He condemned such slogans as "One man, one vote", "Dominion status in 1960", and "We believe in partnership, but the time is not ripe". He strongly condemned South Africa's policy of apartheid and said it was not surprising that the consequences had been shocking.

Asked to define partnership, he said: "I can describe some of its characteristics. It is a community in which all the possibilities of education and all the opportunities of position and service in the community are equally accessible to all races. It is also a community in which there is no bar or inhibition upon social mingling of the races—a community in which it is the most natural thing in the world for different races to go along together, to be educated side by side and to worship God together side by side." (*Central African Post*, April 25.)

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland decided by 357 votes to 339 to await the Monckton Commission's report on Central Africa before making specific recommendations on the functions of the Territorial and Federal Governments. Other recommendations in the report of the Church's committee on Central Africa approved were that no scheme of federation be retained in Central Africa without the consent of the majority of the inhabitants, irrespective of race; and that delegations to the conference reviewing the Federal constitution should be recognized by the African people as their genuine representatives. (*Guardian*, May 27.)

At the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, the Bishop (Rt. Rev. Cecil Alderson) said that the Government of Southern Rhodesia, by detaining and restricting people not accused of any offence against statutory laws had followed "a dangerous and dubious process, contrary to Christian conceptions of justice . . . a practice common to totalitarian States which has spread to the so-called democracies. . . . So great was the frailty of human nature and motive and so dangerous was the corruption by the possession of power that Christendom had not without reason safeguarded justice by the principles of *habeas corpus*, accurate accusation within the terms of existing law, and public trial by a trained and impartial tribunal, indifferent to all considerations other than the equitable administration of law."

He expressed grave anxiety about the failure of the Church in the Diocese to produce White ordinands and said that in the three years he had been Bishop he had ordained two White men, one in his fifties and the other in his seventies. Of the present White clergymen of the Diocese—which is seventy years old next year—two are Rhodesians, two or three are South Africans and thirty-three English. Forty-two per cent of the White population is Anglican.

He described the figures as "extremely distressing", and "a gloomy index of our true spiritual calibre in the Diocese of Mashonaland". He also said that despite the smallness of their worldly goods and wages, Africans in the diocese were failing in their duty to give money to support the Church and its ministers. (*Rhodesian Herald*, May 6.)

The *Rhodesian Herald* (May 6), referring to the Bishop's speech and to the Archbishop of York's statement that "the Church has not sufficiently put into practice the gospel of partnership in which it believes", asked: "Is it primarily because people are turning from the Church, or is it that the fears and prejudices in a multi-racial society have pushed Christian beliefs far into the background? Is it that turbulent men like Canon Collins of St. Paul's and the Rev. Colin Morris of Chingola's Free Church, instead of exerting the calming influence for which Archbishop Ramsey calls, are stimulating ill-feeling among the very people to whom they are seeking to show the right path? Why is it in Mashonaland, probably farther afield, responsible people complain of the arrogance of priests and other superiors for keeping information about money matters entirely to themselves?"

"Ministers of the Church are no more than human, but they are men from whom the public expects a high degree of tolerance and understanding. Are not the personal failings of these men a major contributory cause to the failure of the Church?"

Need for Publicity

At a meeting of the Federal branch of the Institute of Directors, Lord Malvern said that the Federation had to face the fact that incidents like those in Nyasaland, coupled with the general ignorance of the facts in the United Kingdom, had undoubtedly shaken some confidence in "our ability to rule and prosper".

The ignorance in Britain had enabled some politicians to make political capital out of these incidents, and had enabled the do-gooders, ruled by emotion and not by reason, to indulge in an orgy of denigration of the Britons living in Central Africa. This was why a publicity campaign was needed: so that the Federation could resume the rapid development to which it had become accustomed.

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer said: "People are not free unless they live in a country where there is a deep respect for law, where high professional standards are maintained in the administration of justice, in the application of administrative power by the Civil Service, and, no less important, in regard to business administration. Nor can people be said to be free who live in a chronic state of want and instability." These facts emphasized

the Federation's need for economic viability, coupled with efficiency and integrity in government, before its people could be considered free.

Voice and Vision, Ltd., of London, have been appointed public relations advisers to the Federal Government. The company will assist in the reorganization of the Federal information services in this country and in Central Africa. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 2.)

Non-Europeans in Civil Service¹

From July 1, 154 posts in Branch Three of the Federal Civil Service were upgraded to Branch Two (salary scale £516-£1,218). Branch Three was regarded as the first stage of real responsibility for Non-Europeans: it includes clerical workers, postmen, linesmen and medical orderlies. The conditions of service in Branch Two posts are uniform in the whole Federation, whereas in Branch Three they were based on territorial conditions.

There are now 78 Non-Europeans in Branch One of the Civil Service. (*Rhodesia Herald*, May 12.)

Monckton Commission²

The Monckton Commission returned to the United Kingdom after touring Central Africa extensively for three months. They heard evidence from 967 people: 575 in Northern Rhodesia (including 293 Africans), 270 in Nyasaland (179 Africans) and 122 in Southern Rhodesia (52 Non-Europeans). Lord Monckton said that "the boycotting of the Commission in Nyasaland by the Malawi Congress Party was unfortunate; that it undoubtedly stopped a number of Africans from appearing; and without doubt there was a good deal of intimidation". (*Rhodesia Herald*, May 7.)

Lord Shawcross, who was taken ill and had to return home for an operation, resigned from the Commission, but agreed to make his services available to the Commission for consultation if required. (*The Times*, June 8.)

Kariba Dam Opened

Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, opened the Kariba Hydro-Electric project on May 17. Sir Duncan Anderson, chairman of the Federal Power Board, said: "We think that the most significant human factor in this great venture has been here at Kariba where Europeans and Africans have worked together in harmony and partnership in conditions which have not been easy." (*The Times*, May 18.)

The project generates a supply of 600 megawatts and this will be supplemented after 1962 by another power station on the north bank producing a further 900 megawatts. The scheme when complete will have cost about £113 million. About 1,200 Italian workers and technicians and 5,500 Africans were employed on the site from August 1956 to February 1960. Twenty Italians and about ninety Africans were killed during the period in accidents. The project, which was planned by an Anglo-French team of civil engineers, was supervised by Italian engineers.

The Federation and Economics³

Two Oxford economists who visited Nyasaland last year have written a report on the economic advantages and disadvantages of federation to Nyasaland.⁴

The National Income

"In 1958 Southern Rhodesia contributed 56 per cent of the Federation's gross domestic product, Northern Rhodesia 32 per cent (10 per cent less than in earlier years owing to the after effects of the fall in copper prices) and Nyasaland 12 per cent. Per head of the population gross domestic product amounted to £85 in Southern Rhodesia, £60 in Northern Rhodesia, and £19 in Nyasaland (an increase there of £2 per head since 1956)." They estimate that Nyasaland's net domestic product in 1958 was £50.4 million. (This is arrived at by including £26.6 million of African subsistence income. In the Jack Report,⁵ £23.8 was mentioned as the net domestic product, but this was in the money economy alone. Both reports have similar figures of income per head of the population.) Dependence on

¹DIGEST VII, 5.

²A. Hazelwood and P. D. Henderson, *Nyasaland: The Economics of Federation*, Blackwell, Oxford, 10s. 6d.

the subsistence economy is 10 per cent for Southern Rhodesia, 17 per cent for Northern Rhodesia and 53 per cent for Nyasaland, but the percentages of African incomes *alone* coming from the subsistence economy are higher than this; in Nyasaland it is estimated to be 65 per cent. Wage and salary average earnings of Africans were £80 per annum in Southern Rhodesia, £99 in Northern Rhodesia and £46 in Nyasaland.

Federation and the Rate of Growth

"It is, perhaps, commonly believed that the economy has developed faster since federation. The evidence does not support such a belief . . . statistics show the rate of growth in the domestic product of the Federation . . . to have been significantly *slower* since 1954 than it was in a period of equal length before the Federation was established." For example the gross domestic product of the *money economy* of the Federation, valued at constant prices rose from 100 in 1949 to 162 in 1953, but only from 100 in 1954 to 128 in 1958. The authors are critical of the belief expressed in the Jack Report that "the expansion of the money economy in Nyasaland has been much greater since federation". They take the data in the Jack Report, on development in recent years,¹ and on the national income of Nyasaland, and show that, "only three of the nine indicators show a bigger percentage rise in the post- than in the pre-federation period". One of these three, balances due to Post Office Savings Banks depositors, has only increased by three points since federation. In another, the increase in electricity consumption, the increase since federation is exaggerated because the increase in generating capacity was planned before federation. They conclude that the rate of growth in Southern Rhodesia has increased since federation, "but for the other two territories, and for the Federal area as a whole, the rate of growth has been slower since federation than in the preceding years. This is purely a matter of fact, and does not justify any conclusion about the effects of federation."

General Case for Federation

The writers give a warning: ". . . it is impossible to determine precisely the extent to which federation as such has affected the course of economic development. We have no means of discovering what would have happened if the Federation had not come into existence, so that no direct comparative evidence exists. It is therefore possible only to reach more or less plausible conclusions about the changes which federation may have led to; but the precise nature of these changes must remain a matter of personal judgement, on which informed observers may disagree. The economic arguments for federation were taken for granted and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the treatment of this question by the British Government departments concerned was hasty and amateurish."

The first argument in favour of federation is "that the Federation contributes to the prosperity of each of the territories by creating a larger and unified market". Because the north-east of Northern Rhodesia and all Nyasaland were inside the Congo Basin Treaties area, trade between them and the rest of the new Federal area was not free until the Federation secured the withdrawal from these treaties. This has enlarged the market, but only to the two remotest and poorest areas of the Federation. Federation also brought a common tariff for the three territories. It is not certain that federation was necessary to bring about these changes. Even on the most favourable interpretation the widening of the market has been small.

The second argument is that as each territory is dependent on a small number of products which fluctuate in output and price, federation would provide against instability in Government revenues. (For example a fall in tax revenue from copper might be counterbalanced by a rise in revenue from other products in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.) But since all the territories export almost entirely primary products the argument is weakened, and the economy as a whole is still exposed to the risk of fluctuations, particularly as revenue depends greatly on the fortunes of the copper industry. But Federal and Territorial revenue and expenditure are now less dependent than before on the particular products in which each part specializes. The importance of this has been exaggerated. Without federation each territory could have operated a revenue stabilization scheme. The gains of revenue stability in the Federation may be offset by losses incurred under the redistribution of revenue under the present fiscal

arrangements: this is the situation in Northern Rhodesia. In Nyasaland, ". . . Government revenues may have been *less* stable than they would have been if Nyasaland had remained a separate territory; but they have also been considerably higher".

The third argument is that as the territories are complementary and interdependent in the economic field political association is inevitable. But the extent of interdependence is very limited. All three territories depend on a small number of primary products which are almost entirely exported. But transactions between the territories are important. On the basis of 1950-2 balance of payment figures Southern Rhodesia gets a significant part of its earnings from Northern Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia gets a significant proportion of its imports from Southern Rhodesia. Transactions with Southern Rhodesia are important to Nyasaland, particularly the remittances sent home by migrant workers, the employment of whom is important to Southern Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Railways and the Kariba undertaking are of joint concern to the Rhodesias.

However, the fact of interdependence has no political implications. The cases of the heavy economic interdependence of the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic and of Canada and the U.S.A. illustrate this point. "The argument of the interdependence must therefore be dismissed altogether."

The fourth argument is that federation provides efficient joint planning of the use of the resources of the area. It is true that a Federal Government may be in a better position to take economic decisions than such a body as the old Central African Council. (The Council was set up in 1945 to co-ordinate policy and action between the three independent territories. By 1950 it became largely ineffective. But it has been suggested that this happened because Southern Rhodesia by that time had decided on federation and regarded the Council as a barrier to this.) Whether Federal decisions will lead to better results than an alternative arrangement can only be decided on the merits of each case.

The Federation in recent years has given Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland a share in the revenues from Northern Rhodesian copper, and this argument in its favour has force. However, even if it is agreed that the decision to share out the copper reserves in the area of the Federation was political and not economic, the area could well be (say) Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika, or Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland alone.

The fifth argument is that the "Federation contributes to economic development by encouraging the inflow of capital into the area". So far as private investment is concerned, "It is very likely that as a result of federation there has been a greater awareness of the Central African market as such; and the prospect not only of continued economic expansion, but also the creation of a new Dominion in Central Africa has had effects on investment which, though they cannot be precisely assessed, may none the less be significant", and ". . . it is probable . . . that one result of federation has been a rather higher level of Government expenditure, and in particular capital expenditure, than would otherwise have been possible". Some investors may have been influenced by the argument that the Federation is more creditworthy than the three separate territories, even though the argument itself is debatable. ". . . It is at least a reasonable presumption that both because of the choice of Kariba and through the effects of the present fiscal arrangements the Federation has had a marked effect on total public borrowing from abroad. To the extent that this has resulted from the choice of Kariba it can be regarded as an argument for federation if this decision is assumed to be the right one. In so far as Government borrowing for other purposes is in question it is probably right to regard the effect as a definite gain which the Federation has brought." But the stimulus to the influx of overseas capital should be attributed not so much to the economic expansion and the belief in greater economic and political stability but rather to the fact that revenue from copper has, in effect, underwritten Federal loans.

Redistribution of Income

On the gains to Nyasaland on current account coming from the Federation the writers state, "Our broad conclusions are not very different from those drawn in these two documents", i.e. fiscal benefits accruing to Nyasaland from Federation, and the Jack Report. The provisional estimate for 1958-9 is:

¹DIGEST VII, 5.

	£(thousands)
Nyasaland contributions to Federal revenue	2,749
Nyasaland receipts from Federal income tax	1,950
Allocable Federal expenditure in Nyasaland:	
Education	198
Health	769
Post and Telegraph	306
Other	2,270
Appportioned Federal expenditure in Nyasaland ¹	846

When Nyasaland's contributions are deducted from her receipts and Federal expenditure the net gain in current account is £3,590,000.

"It is clear . . . that the Nyasaland Government has gained very substantially on current account as a direct result of the territory's membership of the Federation." But the gain may be overstated, e.g. in 1958-9 a separate Nyasaland may not have spent £228,000 on an air force. A separate Nyasaland would be able to increase its revenue from tariffs on Southern Rhodesian and overseas products, but "whatever adjustments might reasonably be made . . . the gain from federation must remain a very high proportion of the revenues which a separate Nyasaland Government would have at its disposal without special assistance from outside". If such assistance of about £4 million per annum were not obtained, "higher rates of taxation would be necessary, and even with these a marked fall in the standard of services provided would probably be unavoidable". If only direct and visible benefits to the Nyasaland Africans are taken the value of Federation's contribution amounts to less than £1 per head per annum of the African population.

Out of a total of perhaps £370 million of revenue raised from 1953 to 1959 the amounts contributed may be guessed at £180 million from Southern Rhodesia, £175 million from Northern Rhodesia and £15 million from Nyasaland. The shares in current Federal expenditure in 1958-9 were Southern Rhodesia 62 per cent, Northern Rhodesia 29 per cent and Nyasaland 9 per cent. The share of Southern Rhodesia has fallen since 1954-5, ". . . the effect of the present pattern of Federal expenditure in current account is to redistribute income from Northern Rhodesia to both Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia". The Southern Rhodesian large share of current expenditure is partly accounted for by (a) the high proportions of its debt taken over on federation and, (b) Federal spending on Non-African agriculture and education is higher as the Non-African population is greater in Southern Rhodesia, and more is spent there on health and communications. When a comparison is made between each territory's payments to the Federation and their shares of the total receipts it is very roughly estimated that Southern Rhodesia gained £0.3 million, Nyasaland about £3.7 million and Northern Rhodesia lost £4.1 million in 1958-9, on current account. Over a longer period of federation economic expansion in Southern Rhodesia may make it the chief financial contributor to the Federation, but Federal expenditure in that territory, especially with a high rate of European immigration, may also increase, so that the date when both the northern territories may gain from Southern Rhodesia may be a distant one.

No obvious inference can be drawn from the present contribution of Northern Rhodesia to the other territories. Whether the present arrangements should be accepted, or what form of closer association with other territories should be adopted, "are matters not of economic but of political judgement".

Linking Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland

"While it is true to say that Federation has brought substantial fiscal gains to Nyasaland it is also true that equivalent if not larger gains might in this period have resulted from association with Northern Rhodesia alone. For this reason the statement often made that Nyasaland would not be 'viable' outside the present Federation is misleading; for the financial benefits which have accrued to Nyasaland so far appear to be the result not of federation as such, but of the connexion with Northern Rhodesia." A rough estimate of the financial effects of a link between the two northern territories alone shows that in 1958-9 for example Nyasaland

¹Nyasaland's "share" of the administrative costs of the Federation, 15 per cent of the cost of common services in the Federation, e.g. defence, and the estimated "share" of Nyasaland of interest payments on Federal debt since federation.

would have gained £600,000 and Northern Rhodesia's loss to the Federation would have been increased from £4.1 million to £4.3 million.

Public Capital Expenditure

Such expenditure by the Nyasaland Government for 1958-9 is shown as £2,749,000; by the Federal Government as £793,000 (this is a reduction of £148,000 on the Jack Report figure²). ". . . There can be no doubt that federation has led to a higher rate of public investment than would have been possible if Nyasaland had remained separate. The memorandum on *Fiscal Benefits accruing to Nyasaland from Federation* puts the difference at £1 million per annum." But this cannot be added to Nyasaland's gains on current account as the higher level of her own public investment has increased interest and amortization charges; the same situation exists in connexion with capital expenditure in Nyasaland by the Federation, as Nyasaland's tax contribution will be partly used to pay these charges on Federal loans. But Nyasaland's contributions have been less than her share of Federal capital expenditure, thus . . . "Nyasaland may be said to have benefited financially . . . and as the Government . . . has been able to invest more in the services for which it remains responsible, because of the extra loan finance that has been available since federation, this may be regarded as an advantage . . . which is additional to the gains on current account; but the two are distinct and cannot be added together."

Nyasaland before federation only raised one loan in London for general purposes, but this does not reflect on her creditworthiness, as the demands for loans of colonial governments then exceeded what could be raised in the London market. Since 1959 too the new device of Exchequer loans means that colonial governments "can no longer be said to be dependent only on their creditworthiness in the traditional sense of the term". The part of the increase in Nyasaland borrowing through an improvement in its budgetary position must be strictly imputed to the financial link with Northern Rhodesia, not to the Federation as such. Nyasaland would have financial difficulties on the capital only if it became a separate territory with no increase in overseas assistance.

From 1954 to 1959 the shares of Federal loan account expenditure have been: Nyasaland, approximately 6 per cent, Southern Rhodesia 59 per cent and Northern Rhodesia 35 per cent. But compared with her contributions Nyasaland's share of Federal capital expenditure ". . . looks relatively generous". However, in development plans little attempt is made to give special consideration of Nyasaland's poverty and economic backwardness, and that her prospects cannot be greatly improved so long as over 90 per cent of capital expenditure goes to the Rhodesias.

Tariffs

In a customs union such as the Federation the tariff area as a whole may gain through protection, but the gain may be very unevenly distributed. "The customs union not only stimulates a switch in demand from low-cost to high-cost sources of supply; it also affects development prospects. Its inclusion (in the case of Nyasaland) in a free trade area with an industrially more developed partner (e.g. Southern Rhodesia) prevents the less developed partner from taking protective measures to encourage and support its own industrial development." Migration of labour from the poorer to the advanced area may benefit the migrants, but as they are the most active and productive part of the population, opportunities for development in their area may be further reduced.

It has been claimed that customs duties are lower than they were before federation, generally speaking. But the evidence of available data (which is limited) suggests that tariff changes have not been beneficial. The tax on some commodities has risen sharply, and those most affected "are those for which the demand comes from the poorest (African) section of the community". Some tariff changes have been regressive. The fiscal gains to Nyasaland are to some extent no more than compensation for the adverse effects of the Federal tariff and may be inadequate compensation for some Nyasalanders.

Between 1955 and 1958 the net output of manufacturing in the Federation increased by 42 per cent. It is impossible to disentangle the effects of tariffs on this growth from the stimulus of the earlier copper boom, but tariff protection must be given some credit. Owing to the absence of data

²DIGEST VII, 5, p. 147.

about consumption in Nyasaland there is only very indirect evidence of changes induced by the new tariff, but there has certainly been a marked fall in imports from low-cost sources in Hong Kong and India, which apart from a contraction in demand must have been partly caused by a switch to Federal products. A statistical investigation of this is desirable. With her own tariff it is possible that Nyasaland could get "an increased yield from import duties without any rise in domestic prices". On this account the fiscal gains from federation have been exaggerated, but the extent of this cannot be computed from the available facts.

Federation and Nyasaland Development

The writers "are sceptical of the view that the Federation must have helped the development of Nyasaland apart from the stimulus given by increased public expenditures". Improved communications between Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia will increase the penetration of Southern Rhodesian industry and industrial development in Nyasaland will be made more difficult. The Jack Report stated that the Kariba scheme might hinder industrial development in Nyasaland. In 1957-8 the territorial shares in the net output of industrial production, Southern Rhodesia 47 per cent, Northern Rhodesia 51 per cent and Nyasaland 2 per cent. An examination of the Federal market for Nyasaland's agricultural products shows that the Nyasaland farmer has a small gain in cheaper transport costs, but the Federation imposes no protective duties in favour of most of Nyasaland's relevant products and it seems improbable that she will enjoy any major benefits from Federation in this field.

Federation and Migrant Nyasalanders

There is no doubt that despite the social and economic losses of migration a marked reduction "of migrant workers would greatly worsen economic conditions within the territory". At any rate in the main towns of Southern Rhodesia in the last two years there has been a surplus of African workers. It can be argued that it is only the maintenance of federation which will ensure the free entry of Nyasalanders, in face of the new restrictions on foreign workers' employment in certain towns. The restrictions apply mainly to immigrants from Portuguese East Africa. But Federation does not guarantee that the restrictions may not be extended to Nyasas. The provisions of the 1958 Foreign Migratory Bill could be applied to them.

The present restrictions arise from the recession which began in 1957, but other factors are the displacement of Southern Rhodesian Africans from the reserves under the Native Land Husbandry Act, the growth of the Southern Rhodesian African population, and the recent restrictions on their employment in South Africa. All this has meant an unusually rapid increase in Southern Rhodesian Africans seeking paid employment. To avoid or reduce the need for restrictions on outside Africans will require a certain rate of economic expansion in Southern Rhodesia. Without Federation restrictions might have been applied to Nyasas in the past "and certainly would be applied in the present situation. Thus Federation seems already to have been of advantage to Nyasaland in this respect. How great a benefit it will be in the future can only be guessed, but it might well prove to be of considerable value."

Conclusions Summarized

(1) It appears that the rate of economic growth in Nyasaland has been somewhat slower since federation than before it. But this fact in itself proves nothing for or against federation.

(2) Increased public expenditures have stimulated development, but the economic union with the more advanced parts of the Federation has had the opposite effect.

(3) This stimulus to economic development has been, until now, solely the consequence of Nyasaland's (financial) association with Northern Rhodesia.

(4) Association with Southern Rhodesia has kept open opportunities for Nyasas' employment there, and the money transfers of the migrants must have stimulated the Nyasaland economy. But the absence of so large a part of the potential labour force cannot have been entirely beneficial to the economy.

(5) Federation with its protection of Southern Rhodesian industry may

have retarded industrial development in Nyasaland and the new tariff has probably increased the cost of those goods which form a large part of the total purchases of the poorest Africans, thus reducing the value of the direct benefits to them of federation, e.g. improved health and medical services.

EAST AFRICA

Federation

MR. JULIUS NYERERE has raised the question of a possible East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar which, he suggested, might enable East African territories to assume more quickly the burdens of full self-government. Mr. Nyerere, who was addressing the Addis Ababa conference, offered to delay Tanganyika's own independence day if that would help to expedite the progress of Kenya and Uganda.

The *Guardian* (June 18) commented that Kenya's immediate problems were to carry through smoothly and rapidly a drastic change in the racial equilibrium. Uganda had still to resolve the cross-pull between those whom one may call the centralizing parliamentarians and the localizing royalists respectively. "Could federation speed either of these processes? And where there was still a marked shortage of ministerial timber among Africans, was it practicable to draw a full-time Federal Cabinet from among those available without disastrously weakening the constituent Governments? Could Tanganyika, for instance, spare Mr. Nyerere for the next few years? Surely not for anything like a full-time commitment."

"Nevertheless Mr. Nyerere's idea should certainly not be dropped . . . there is already a link of sorts in the Central Legislative Assembly, the political counterpart of the East African High Commission. The High Commission and the common services which it runs—railways, posts, tax collection, scientific research, and so on—are solid enough, but the Assembly has always been a very shadowy body, meeting briefly and exercising limited powers. If the territorial Governments will entrust it with a broader authority, it could perhaps develop into a Federal Government, exercising a defined degree of sovereignty; meanwhile its continuance would safeguard the valuable common services from disruption, between countries at different stages of political evolution."

It concluded by stating that the one thing to which federation was not likely to make such difference is the expulsion of colonialism. That was already in rapid retreat.

Leading Uganda politicians expressed disagreement with the suggestion. Mr. A. M. Obote, President-General of the Uganda People's Congress, said his party had always maintained that Uganda had its own problems, and under present circumstances it was futile to try to think outside Uganda before solving internal problems.

Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the multi-racial New Kenya Party, said Mr. Nyerere's statement re-emphasized a suggestion he had himself made recently that Kenya political leaders and Mr. Nyerere should meet to discuss the future problems of their territory as they moved towards independence.

"It is attractive to think we can accelerate the process of independence to meet the ideal of federation," Mr. Blundell added, "but this cannot be done until we are satisfied that political stability in each territory will be maintained." (*Guardian*, June 17.)

Mr. Nyerere was questioned about his proposal in Nairobi. He said that he would be prepared to wait another six months for Tanganyika's independence to achieve this purpose. One of the reasons which made him feel that the next step was a federal unit was that if Tanganyika was to achieve independence next year there must be a tendency to a break-up of the East Africa High Commission. States would hardly consider themselves independent if some of their most vital services were still in the control of an organization under Colonial Office authority. "This is the dilemma," he said. "The nucleus of unity which we already have may be unsatisfactory to us in Tanganyika, but on the other hand we have to build up unity, and that is why I am in favour of achieving independence on a federal basis." (*The Times*, June 24.)

After Mr. Nyerere had had informal discussions with leaders of the

Kenya African National Union a statement was issued indicating that there had been some second thoughts about the federation. The statement said that a large measure of agreement had been reached, but it laid some emphasis on the leaders' unanimity that any such federation would not be formed at the expense of the independence of any of the territories.

It was agreed that Tanganyika should proceed normally to independence, and that federation would be looked for as a free association of the independent governments of the various territories. (*The Times*, June 25.)

Ethiopia

Somali Frontier

THE Emperor of Ethiopia had discussions with the Ambassadors of Britain, the United States, Russia, France, Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic about the situation in the Horn of Africa which he described as "very grave".

The Emperor, commenting on "foreign-inspired developments", said that claims for a union of so-called Somali territories were, in fact, the first step aimed at the dismemberment of Ethiopia.

The "so-called Somali demands" constituted a thinly disguised conspiracy which he would oppose with all means in his power. (*East African Standard*, May 13.)

Status of Eritrea

The Eritrean Government will no longer be known by that name. It will henceforth be known only as the Eritrean Administration. The former Chief Executive of Eritrea will become Chief of the Administration.

Among other changes announced are that the (Ethiopian) lion insignia will be used for administrative purposes and the inscription "Eritrean Administration under Haile Selassie, first Emperor of Ethiopia".

Eritrea was federated as an autonomous political entity under the Ethiopian crown by the United Nations in 1952, with self-government in internal affairs. At the time of the United Nations debate on the disposal of the territory, Ethiopia demanded its outright union with herself, but the General Assembly rejected this demand.

After federation the territory initially adopted its own flag, but took the Ethiopian flag last year.

The announcement said all the changes had been adopted unanimously by the Eritrean Assembly in Asmara. (*The Times*, May 21.)

Kenya

The Next Election

THE Chief Secretary, Mr. W. F. Coutts, told Legislative Council that he hoped it would be possible to hold a general election under the Lancaster House Constitution, either at the end of this year or the beginning of 1961.

He was asking the House to take note of a Sessional Paper containing proposals governing the registration of voters, the qualification and nomination of candidates and the election of members to Legislative Council, including the delimitation of constituencies.

The report listed the proposed distribution of seats by constituencies for the next elections. Candidates will be returned from fifty-three common roll seats, including twenty "reserved seats" for the minority communities. This will be the first time the common roll will have been used in Kenya elections.

Delegations to London

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the new party the "Kenya Coalition",¹ arrived in London on June 26 to lead a delegation from the Coalition to seek reforms from the British Government. Earlier he had announced that he sought guarantees from the British Government on four main points—for an orderly and planned transition, taking

into account the interests of all communities, to responsible government and eventual independence; for security from violence and intimidation; for security of land titles and support for land values; and for proper contracts (or compensation) for the Civil Service.

He made two additional points. He accepted that under the Macleod Constitution only ten seats in an Assembly of sixty-five will be reserved for Europeans, and that candidates for these seats elected on an African-dominated common roll, should be selected after going through a "White primary".

But he attacked as "Tammany Hall tactics" the way in which the subsequent working party (which included the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General) laid down regulations for these primaries: the Kenya Whites were told in the conference report that the primaries would "ensure that the candidates elected commanded the effective and genuine support within their own community"; yet now, Sir Ferdinand claimed, a candidate can survive the primary with as little as 11 per cent of the poll, which, he suggested, is hardly "effective and genuine support". The Colonial Secretary had refused once already to alter these regulations, but Sir Ferdinand said he would persist in this protest.

His final request was that the British Government should guarantee "facilities for education and hospital facilities on a communal basis, until such time as all wish otherwise (i.e. no integration)".

He was not very hopeful of immediate results from his mission, although he believed that "before the end of the year Britain will come to realize what she has done". (*Guardian*, June 23.)

On his arrival he said that his first approach would be purely economic. "I shall make approaches in the City before I start on the politicians." He said he had not asked Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, to see him but added, "I shall be very astonished indeed if he does not." (*The Times*, June 27.)

On June 24, Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Group, said that on economic grounds his group and the European group led by Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, were in general agreement. It was on political issues that they were divided.

The aims of the group were: To create a market in land which would support land values, including that of European farmers, and thus foster confidence in Kenya's economic future; To create conditions whereby international finance will be prepared to lend money for land development so that the full productivity potential of the land can be realized, leading to a stable economy as the basis for full political development. To bring about a situation whereby those Africans who desire to become more than peasant farmers will have the opportunity to do so with financial assistance from a reconstituted land bank. These will be yeomen farmers, holding individual title to their land: and to relieve pressure on the land in densely populated areas.

To bring these aims about Mr. Blundell was proposing that a Government scheme should be introduced to help potential yeomen farmers to buy and develop medium-sized economic farms, mainly in the Highlands. The Party suggested also that the Kenya Land and Agriculture Bank should be removed from Government control, and that there should be a scheme to resettle 5,000 African families in any underdeveloped area to relieve overpopulation in their own areas. (*The Times*, June 25.)

Mr. Blundell was in London with Mr. Wilfrid Havelock, the Minister of Land, and Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture, to place a £30-million land reform plan before the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod.

It was proposed that the British Government should contribute some £2.5 million a year over a twelve-year period to be added to funds provided by the World Bank and by Kenya itself. The New Kenya Group's land reform plan proposes that Britain's £30-million contribution would consist partly of grants and partly of repayable loans. This sum incorporated some grants and loans already promised by this country including £3 million for a "Yeoman Farmers" scheme. (*Guardian*, June 25.)

Masai Party

On May 21, two major tribal groups held meetings to discuss their position in the light of impending advances and nationalist demands.

At the village of Ngong, 14 miles from Nairobi, leaders of the Masai—the traditional war lords of East Africa until the advent of British rule—

¹DIGEST VII, 5 and 6.

held a meeting to discuss the future of the tribe. Elders from all sections of the Masai, both in Kenya and Tanganyika, were present. It was agreed to give support to the recently formed Masai United Front, a political organization set up by younger men of the tribe and not yet approved by the elders, provided that the elders were satisfied with its motives and organization after investigation. Under the existing treaties with Britain the Masai now live in two large tribal reserves, one in Kenya and one in Tanganyika, and the main topic of discussion at the Ngong meeting was a proposal to unite the two sections into one nation and possibly an autonomous state—a proposal unlikely to find favour with the nationalists either in Kenya or Tanganyika.

The second meeting, at Eldoret, was attended by ten representatives from each of the five Kalenjin-speaking tribes of north-west Kenya which form the Kalenjin political alliance. These are the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk Elgeyo-Marakwet, and Tugen—between them about 1 million strong, and all traditionally warriors.

The fifty representatives who formed the governing council of the alliance decided not to join the Kenya African National Union. The council agreed that the alliance should stake claim to administrative control of most of western Kenya, including the present European areas, but officials emphasized that it was not the intention to interfere with the present landowners. The request for administrative control would be based on the claim that the land in question belonged to the Kalenjin before the Europeans arrived. The council intended to invite other "gentle and well-behaved" Africans to join the alliance and so form a nation-wide organization. (*The Times*, May 23.)

At a later meeting on May 29 Mr. Taita Arap Towett, Assistant Minister of Agriculture, explained why the alliance had refused to join K.A.N.U. He emphasized the dangers of one-party Government and added that the twelve Kalenjin delegates to the recent Kiambu conference at which the K.A.N.U. constitution was approved were "not happy about the things dealt with". Mr. Towett pointed out that under a one-party régime in the future, if he expressed a view contrary to that of the Prime Minister, he might be "accused of something and put inside".

K.A.N.U.'s hopes of uniting all Africans behind one political banner received a further blow with news of the formation at Mombasa of a Coast African political union. Its object was to organize and unite Coast Africans before deciding whether to join K.A.N.U. or the Kenya African People's Party led by Mr. Muliro. Some delegates complained that it was "another Kalenjin union to support Group Captain Briggs". (*The Times*, May 30.)

On June 25 leaders from the Kalenjin Political Alliance, Masai United Front, Kenya African People's Party, Coast African Political Union and the Somali National Association met in Ngong and decided to merge into one organization to be known as the Kenya African Democratic Union.

The new party, its leaders claimed, represented about three million people, half of the colony's African population: all the tribes, in fact, except the Kikuyu and Luo, the bulk of whom are considered as supporters of K.A.N.U.

The temporary leader of K.A.D.U. is Mr. Masinde Muliro, the chairman of the Kenya African People's Party. Mr. John Keen of the Masai United Front is temporary secretary.

It appeared that the Party would be able to claim allegiance from at least half of the African Elected Members. Among those expected to become officers are the Minister for Labour, Mr. Ronald Ngala, who is the leader of the Coast African Political Union, and Mr. Taita Arap Towett, Assistant Minister for Agriculture. (*The Times*, June 27.)

Land Reform

Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture, announced on May 11 in the Legislative Council, plans for the purchase of land offered for sale in Non-African areas and its division into farms of an average of fifty acres each, for disposal on a non-racial basis. The immediate target, once the proposed land legislation was passed, was to settle forty to fifty small farmers early in 1961. The Settlement Board which is to be reconstituted later this year, will select from farms offered for sale those which appear on expert valuation to be suitable for subdivision into small units. It will be land of high potential, capable of growing cash crops like coffee or

pyrethrum, or producing twelve bags of maize or more to the acre of the equivalent in other cereal crops.

The Minister said, "Land which is already fully developed will, as far as possible, be retained in large units for resale to people wishing to buy larger farms. This is an activity which is carried on at the moment by the European Agricultural Settlement Board, and will be continued by the new Board, but on a non-racial basis."

On May 13 the Ministry of Agriculture issued a statement emphasizing that the plan's implementation will depend upon the passing of legislation based on Sessional Paper No. 10 (Land Tenure outside the Native Lands), placing the tenure of land on a similar basis throughout Kenya. It stated that there will be a new Settlement Board which will organize the new settlement plan. The work of the Board will be to buy suitable land which is offered for sale, to plan it and subdivide it into small farms, to put in roads and water where necessary, and to place settlers, after training on these small farms.

These settlers may be of any race. Asians and Europeans may want to take up farms. But it is expected that the greater number will be Africans. In 1960 the number to be settled will be small, not more than fifty. But the number will increase in future years to perhaps 1,000 each year.

Settlers will be carefully chosen so that they have a good chance of succeeding. They should have money of their own to put into the farm. They will do short training courses at one of the Farm Institutes of the Agricultural Department. After that they will go to live on the land and will work on developing it and at the same time continue their training. For instance, they may learn how to manage a mixed farm, cash crops, good dairy cattle or wool sheep. A Settlement Officer, who is trained in agriculture, will supervise the training and development of the new farms.

At the end of the first training period, about January 1961, the settlers will go on to the land and will start farming. They will have to sign a lease and conditions will be enforced which require farming of a good standard and limit the number of people on the farm. If they need it, they will receive loans for the development of their farms, and they will have to pay these loans with interest in a set time.

The size of the farms will vary with the kind of land. The aim will be to enable anyone who farms well to make a certain income. An income of £200 per year has been suggested over and above feeding himself and his family and paying his rent and his loan repayments. This figure is double the target set in the Swynnerton Plan and many times what most African farmers get from their holdings in the African areas.

On land which will grow coffee or pyrethrum, it is thought that a farm of about forty acres will yield this income. On land which will grow a good maize crop, but is not suitable for coffee or pyrethrum, 100 acres will probably be required. The Settlement Board, in consultation with agricultural experts, will work out the right size for different sorts of land. The Government hopes that money to buy land will be provided by the British Government and that money which the Settlement Board can lend to farmers to develop their farms will come from international sources. This international money which the Government hopes to get is for development. The object is to increase production and add to the wealth of the country. (*Kenya Newsletter*, May 24.)

Mr. Peter Marrian, president of the Kenya National Farmers Union, said that the plan was inadequate both in content and method. He said the scheme had come as a shock. "We had no knowledge that our Minister was going to so utterly destroy our feeling that the Government would support us in a reasoned land stabilization fund." (*East African Standard*, May 13.)

The Nairobi Indian Chamber of Commerce stated: "The scheme . . . is much too insignificant in the present context."

It suggested that an expert from outside should advise on agricultural settlement as he would not be handicapped by local prejudices. It added: "Unless something is done on a big enough scale to increase opportunities in agriculture, the problem of unemployment among Africans will continue." (*East African Standard*, May 20.)

Recent statements by the African nationalist leaders that they would not be bound by any land reforms carried out by the present Kenya Government led to a stormy debate in the Legislative Council.

Expressing concern at the reported remark of the acting president of

the Kenya African National Union, Mr. James Gichuru, that "the Government should not interfere with the land until the Africans are in power", Mr. Blundell said that this sort of statement must undermine the confidence of the agricultural industry and of investors.

The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. B. R. McKenzie, also attacked the African statements on the land. He said that if the Africans persisted in these views Kenya would run a grave risk of getting no money whatsoever from international sources. He "shuddered to think" what would happen if money could not be borrowed. The colony's farming would become chaotic.

Mr. Mboya denied that the African leaders intended to scare capital away. They appreciated the need for expansion and had been trying to create a situation that would promote that development. Remarking that there must be freedom for future Governments to act as they thought fit, he added that, though there might be a situation in which property was expropriated or changed hands, any such changes would be based on fair compensation and in the interest of the country.

The Chief Secretary said that though the Government was concerned at the African statements on the land, it thought it was right in going ahead with the schemes announced, in the belief that people would not ruin the country's economy by making statements that would lead to a belief that there would be no sanctity of land title. (*The Times*, May 19.)

It was announced that the World Bank has approved a loan of £2 million to Kenya for the development of African agriculture and roads in the territory. The total cost of the entire project is £6 million, the remaining capital being provided by the United Kingdom Government. (*U.N. News*, June 31.)

Earlier the Minister of Finance had announced that the interest rate had not yet been fixed, but the loan would be repayable in fourteen yearly instalments, which would be a fairly heavy burden. "The importance of this transaction is that it will be the first time this Colony has had a loan from the World Bank," he said. (*East African Standard*, May 13.)

A group of Kenya settlers from the White Highlands met to plan a "Pioneer Society" to organize emigration of European settlers to other underdeveloped areas such as South America and Australia.

The chairman of the Society, Mr. Y. G. Buchholz, said it was "inevitable and desirable" that much of the White Highlands—hitherto exclusively European—should be made available for African resettlement on a voluntary basis. This could be done at first only by acquiring land from those who had a positive intention of maintaining the pioneering tradition by opening up undeveloped land elsewhere.

Mr. Buchholz said all those who wished to sell their farms in Kenya were entitled to a fair, reasonable, and certain price which could not be obtained at the moment as conditions were against the Kenya farmer. The society would make a formal approach to the Kenya Government to get agreement on methods of fair valuation plus a guarantee of payment. (*Guardian*, June 26.)

Proposed modifications to the suggestions, contained in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1958-9, governing land tenure and control outside the Native Lands in Kenya were tabled in Legislative Council in a new Sessional Paper. They were the result of views expressed to the Government. The chief modification provided for a change in the financial basis of conversion from leasehold to freehold tenure.

The Government has also accepted representations that, subject to the control machinery, there should be no inhibition against the transfer of freehold between parties of different race, and it therefore proposes a withdrawal of the suggested Land Trust Corporation and restrictions on interracial transfers of freehold. (*Kenya Newsletter*, June 21.)

Security and Jomo Kenyatta¹

On May 15 African leaders decided to call on all African Elected Members to resign unless the Governor allowed them to visit Jomo Kenyatta, who had been chosen as president in exile of the new Kenya African National Union.

In their resolution the Africans said: "We are convinced that his (Kenyatta's) release will not constitute a threat to the security of Kenya, and unanimously agree that within a period of one month from today, if

the Governor refuses us a visit to Kenyatta at Lodwar, then on the last day of that month African Elected Members and Ministers will resign from the Legislature and Executive immediately. Then the K.A.N.U. will convene a leaders' meeting immediately to decide on the next course of action regarding this matter."

It was understood that the demand to visit Kenyatta was accepted as a compromise. Suggestions that there should be an immediate civil disobedience campaign in support of Kenyatta's release were opposed by the majority of delegates. (*Guardian*, May 16.)

The *Guardian* (May 17) commented that the Macleod settlement was in danger of being wrecked by the ill-advised campaign for the return of Jomo Kenyatta. It was no longer a question of Kenyatta's going free, as a convicted man may normally expect to do when he has served his sentence, but of his returning in triumph as the leader (or at least the titular leader) of a radical popular party which has revived the name of the Kenya African National Union and with it all the memories and fears of 1952. . . . A flaring up of the old fire would be disastrous, not merely for racial (and perhaps tribal) relations within Kenya, but also for Kenya's credit in the world to which it must still look for solid support through a decade of rapid economic and social evolution. The wind is now blowing fiercely on the embers.

In the Legislative Council, Mr. Swann, Minister for Internal Security and Defence, stated that an increasing number of oath-taking ceremonies had been reported from the Rift Valley provinces and these were being investigated. On the other hand no connexion had been found between the unrest in Central Province and any specific organization or individual, but whenever a particular person's name came to police attention his record was examined for any Mau Mau connexions. (*The Times*, June 3.)

On June 2, a Kikuyu headman, William Wambugu Kimathi, was found murdered. The authorities were certain that this was a Mau Mau type of murder—the first since the emergency regulations were lifted in January.

The murder followed closely on publication of the Corfield Report, which had undoubtedly aroused old antagonisms, although there were earlier reports of Mau Mau oath-taking activities in several widely separated areas.

It was reported that the headman's murder was followed by a familiar oath-taking ceremony in which members of the victim's family were forced to drink the victim's blood. (*Observer*, June 5.)

On June 7, owing to the demand of the Registrar, officials of ten supporting political groups met in Nairobi and resolved that the Kenya African National Union should be registered without Jomo Kenyatta as president.

Mr. James Gichuru, the former acting president, was elected president. He said in a statement that it was decided in view of Kenya's present political development to register K.A.N.U. at once. He added: "Such a step does not undermine the position of Kenyatta, who is the only acknowledged leader of the African people. This position is not affected by the Corfield Report and we are setting up our own committee to reply to the report."

Mr. Gichuru added that the Registrar's other demand that K.A.N.U. should have no trade union affiliation was to be left to the trade union movement. (*The Times*, June 8.)

With only two days to go before the expiry of the K.A.N.U.'s ultimatum that African Ministers and African Elected Members would resign unless they were allowed to visit Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenya Government announced: "In keeping with the Government policy of a regular review of cases of people under restriction or detention, a series of visits of members of the Council of Ministers has been arranged and has been taking place to the remaining detention camps and places of restriction throughout Kenya."

"In the course of these visits members of the Council of Ministers, including Africans, will at a suitable time visit Lodwar to see Kenyatta." (*Guardian*, June 13.)

Within hours of the expiry of the ultimatum the Kenya African National Union decided not to call on all African Elected Members, including Ministers, to resign over the Government's decision to allow only

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

the Ministers to visit Jomo Kenyatta. Announcing this, the vice-chairman of K.A.N.U., Mr. Oginga Odinga stated that the Government's decision did not fully meet the terms of the resolution passed at the meeting of May 15, but it met one part of it. (*The Times*, June 15.)

Brigadier Patrick Hughes, the Acting Provincial Commissioner of the Central Provinces of Kenya, stated that there was definite evidence of a revival of Mau Mau oath-taking, illegal meetings, intimidation and the collection of funds.

Investigations in Nyeri were carried out under a Public Security Ordinance introduced when the emergency ended. He added that there was a very good response from the African people, who appeared to be relieved at giving information.

The statement by Brigadier Hughes followed the publication of a memorandum to the Governor of Kenya from Major Venn Fey, warning him of a widespread revival of Mau Mau under the name of "Wallingi". Major Fey has had a lifelong association with the Kikuyu tribe. His memorandum to Sir Patrick was based on evidence given him by loyal Africans. They said that Mau Mau was being revived and was being organized by former detainees and terrorists. It was now widespread in the Central and Rift Valley provinces and had even reached the European settled areas of Kitale and Eldoret. (*Guardian*, June 18.)

The regulations under the Public Security Ordinance give the Provincial Commissioner, Central Province, immediate powers to impose various measures in the Nyeri District at his own discretion, and so far as it appears to him necessary, for preserving public security. The regulations, which can be imposed on all or certain areas within the District, provide for the control of movement within Nyeri District, including the use of motor vehicles and bicycles, a curfew and the closure of shops and markets.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in three locations of the Nyeri District to prevent intimidation following the murder of a headman. (*Kenya Newsletter*, June 21.)

The release from detention of ex-Senior Chief Mbiyu Koinange of the Kikuyu, who is 94, and has been a leader of the Kikuyu since the early years of the century, is announced. In 1953 he was acquitted of a charge of conspiring to kill another Kikuyu leader, Senior Chief Waruhiu, but was held under the emergency regulations and exiled.

A Government statement said that Koinange was no longer considered such a danger and that he had also been freed on humanitarian grounds in view of his great age and poor health. He will, however, continue to be restricted to living in the home of his son, Chief Charles. (*The Times*, July 1.)

It was also announced that Mr. F. Odede, a former African representative member of the Legislative Council, who was detained under the emergency regulations in 1953 and later put under restriction, is being allowed to return to his home location in Nyanza.

He will remain under movement restriction and will be barred from political activities. A statement said that the Government had taken this action "in pursuance of its policy of keeping cases of all restricted persons under review". (*The Times*, April 22.)

"Mau Mau" Swoop

Kikuyu who have been administering oaths like those of the Mau Mau in the Rift Valley province of Kenya are among fifty-two wanted men and women taken into custody since the police launched "Operation Milltown" on July 8.

All were taken to Lamu Island north of Mombasa, where they will be held under restriction for an indefinite period, receiving a monthly allowance of £6 each. They may be joined later by their families.

The Government's firm action has come as a shock to the Kikuyu, who did not expect anything so drastic after the emergency regulations had been lifted. The Government's hand has been strengthened, however, by support from its African Ministers, including Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, himself a Kikuyu, who has strongly denounced oath-taking and other subversive moves as prejudicing the Africans' speedy progress towards independence.

The Kenya African National Union, in a statement signed by its general secretary, Mr. Tom Mboya, said that vigilance must be exercised to ensure there is no recurrence of the acts which led to the Mau Mau

emergency. The statement is strongly critical of the Government's present security measures and speaks of the danger of another "explosion".

The Union condemns without qualification acts of violence, intimidation, and oath-taking, said the statement, and to this extent it supports genuine measures aimed at dealing with deliberately destructive people or groups of all races. It said, however, that suppression and control would never become alternatives to political freedom and confidence. "Security must not be used as an excuse to muzzle genuine African political thought and expression or to stop freedom of movement," the statement said.

"Kenya, including the Government, must be rehabilitated from the psychology of the days of the emergency and must return to normal attitudes. Panic and over-sensitivity, or lack of a realistic assessment of the political situation, will openly lead to confusion, fear, and suspicion, and there may be another explosion. The Government must therefore first be sure in its mind that it understands the political climate in which it is working and work with it rather than against it. It is too easy to re-affirm the Lancaster House spirit, but it would be unrealistic to think that Africans today accept the pace of constitutional change envisaged at Lancaster House."

The statement added that the Union was deeply disturbed at, and completely opposed, the decision to open the detention camp at Lamu for detention of people without trial. "We do not believe that the stipulated tribunal to which such detainees may appeal is an alternative to the right of all citizens to be confronted with evidence before a properly constituted court of law." (*Observer*, July 10.)

The Corfield Report¹

In October 1957, the Government appointed Mr. F. D. Corfield, a retired provincial Governor in the Sudan, to carry out an inquiry with the following terms of reference:

To examine and report to the Governor on (a) the origin and growth of Mau Mau, including the circumstances which permitted the movement to develop so rapidly without the full knowledge of the Government; (b) any deficiencies which made themselves apparent in the Government machine.

Mr. Corfield states that by way of amplification and guidance on these terms of reference it was pointed out to him that the inquiry would not be supported by recommendations, but should be a factual, historical examination of what happened, when it happened, and, as far as can be judged, how it happened.

Mr. Corfield received twenty-four memoranda from individuals or representative bodies, and he had forty-five personal interviews with individuals or district associations, apart from many personal discussions with Government officials. Besides examining in detail the growth of the movement, the report inquires into the psychological and sociological background, investigates the organization of the intelligence available to the Kenya Government between the years 1940 and 1952, describes the evolution of Kikuyu political organizations, and includes chapters on the evolution of the oath, on schools, on the vernacular press, and on trade unions.

The report examines the land question in some detail because claims to the alleged Kikuyu lands alienated for European settlement were the mainsprings of all Kikuyu political movements. The report shows that European settlement was undertaken not by the indiscriminate seizure of land by unscrupulous Europeans from the defenceless and primitive African—"a view still expressed by many whose political background appears to have prejudiced their judgement"—but as a result of predetermined policy of the Kenya Government which was suited to the needs of Kenya at that time.

It states that the cardinal point to bear in mind is not whether these claims to the "stolen land" had any real substance or whether such as were justified were dealt with equitably by the various commissions set up by the Government; it is a fact that by a process of auto-suggestion, self-deception, and the propagation of patent lies, a sufficiently large number of Kikuyu believed they were true to enable the agitators to make full use of this highly explosive source of discontent.

¹Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau (Cmnd. No. 1030, H.M.S.O., 15s.)

In his criticisms of the Central Government's behaviour in the period before the declaration of the emergency, Mr. Corfield states: "My researches into the origins and growth of Mau Mau show with no shadow of doubt, that during the course of the years which preceded the declaration of the state of emergency, a mass of intelligence reports covering all aspects of subversion had flowed in to the Central Government in Nairobi. And although these reports may have lacked a precision which might have enabled the Government to take more active steps against the main instigators of Mau Mau, within the limited confines of the law, the view can, in my opinion, no longer be held that lack of intelligence was the main reason which 'permitted the movement to develop so rapidly without the full knowledge of the Government'."

The major deficiency in the intelligence system, the report suggests, was the lack of a properly constituted body not only to assess the import of the many reports received but also to keep matters of intelligence policy under constant review. Had such a body existed, it is probable that many of the defects noted would have been righted.

The report continues: "The reasonable assumption must be that a more forceful and authoritative appreciation of the general situation, which such a body would be expected to produce, would have so impressed the Government that more effective action would have been taken at an earlier date to forestall, or at least to mitigate, the violence of the outbreak."

Trying to analyse the factors which influenced or impeded Government action, the report says that the outstanding external factor "was the very great disability under which all colonial governments have to function in this modern age. . . . Both the Colonial Office and colonial governments have been caught in the struggle to resolve the dilemma of being autocratic abroad and democratic at home. It was the deliberate exploitation of the western ideals of freedom, and of the liberal outlook of the British, by the more extreme African nationalists which placed the Government of Kenya on the horns of that dilemma: and it was the inability of that Government . . . to resolve this dilemma which was a decisive factor in the spread and near victory of Mau Mau."

The second outstanding factor was the progressive failure of the law, under the increasing threats of subversion and intimidation, to maintain security until, by August 1952, the courts of law in the Kikuyu-dominated areas had virtually ceased to function. A disastrous result of the rigid judicial interpretation of the law of sedition was the fact that it was virtually impossible to take any effective action to restore a breakdown in public order and security except by the declaration of a state of emergency.

The failure to frame laws in such a way that the Government was enabled to preserve the well-being of the State without offending against the principles of true justice was, the report suggests, as much the fault of the British Parliament as of the Government of Kenya.

Two other reasons mentioned in the report are that responsibility for law and order had been passed to the Attorney-General, which was unsatisfactory because it fettered him with executive responsibilities outside the legal sphere; and that the Kenya Government did not appreciate the importance of maintaining a proper control of firearms until August 1952. The number of precision weapons in the hands of Mau Mau at the beginning of the emergency may well have amounted to some 800.

Dealing with the lessons to be learnt from the inquiry, the report says that without the freedom afforded them by a liberal government, Jomo Kenyatta and his associates "would have been unable to preach their calculated hymn of hate and to exploit, through the medium of perverted witchcraft and intimidation, the most inevitable grievances which must accompany the rapid evolution of a primitive society". The evidence was against the view that had the hand of co-operation been given to Kenyatta there would have been no Mau Mau.

The main lesson to be learnt in administrative terms is that it is the paramount duty and obligation of any Government to maintain law and order. "It was the failure of the Kenya Government . . . to appreciate the importance of this very foundation of good government . . . which was the basic cause of the outbreak of violence." (*The Times*, June 1.)

The following figures are given in an appendix: up to the end of 1956, 11,503 terrorists had been killed, 1,035 had been captured wounded, 1,550 captured in action, 26,625 were arrested and 2,714 surrendered. The casualties in the security forces were: Europeans, 63 killed and 101 wounded;

Asians, 3 killed and 12 wounded, and Africans, 101 killed and 1,469 wounded. Civilian casualties were: Europeans, 32 killed and 26 wounded, Asians, 26 killed and 36 wounded, Africans, 1,819 killed and 916 wounded.

The *Guardian* (June 1) commented that the report did not at first sight seem to add as much as had been hoped to our knowledge of the movement and its workings. Mr. Corfield had gone some way back to seek its origins, and had found interesting parallels between it and the old Kikuyu Central Association, in which Kenyatta was once a leading figure; but the actual relations between K.C.A., Kenya African Union, and Mau Mau, and Kenyatta's own part in them, had remained somewhat elusive.

Commenting on the slowness of the Government to appreciate the seriousness of the situation the editorial stated that there was not much hard evidence about the reasons why the Government acted, or failed to act, as it did; Mr. Corfield had advanced reasons, but they remained speculative. It concluded by stating that the report held much of interest, but it could hardly be taken as the definitive history of Mau Mau. When the Kenya Government felt that the time had come for that, they would perhaps turn to an historian rather than to an administrator.

Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Group, said the report clearly brought out how right the European Elected Members were to attack the Government for inefficiency and complacency in dealing with the early menace of Mau Mau before the emergency was declared. "Another lesson to be learnt is how close Africa's background of savagery is to modern civilization, and how the slightest weakening in law and order can tip the scales into the lawless conditions of the past."

Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, said most Africans would question the report's conclusions and observations, and would continue to refuse to associate Kenyatta's name with the "cruel deeds which took place during the Mau Mau period".

Mr. Tom Mboya said the report was out of date and would not affect Kenyatta's position as a leader. "Nor will it in any way affect our determination to continue to fight for his release and restoration to leadership." He said the report revealed the degree of frustration that must have built up. "The lesson it should teach is that attempts to ignore the legitimate aspirations of any people can only lead to one result."

Group Captain L. R. Briggs, leader of the right-wing United Party, said he hoped the lessons contained in the report would be appreciated by the Government, and that firm steps would be taken to deal with the present uneasy security situation, which in certain aspects was not unlike conditions in the pre-emergency period.

Mr. S. G. Hassan, an Asian member of the Legislative Council, thought the report would have a bad effect on race relations. "We have been trying our best ever since we returned from Lancaster House to create conditions in which all races could come nearer each other and understand each other's point of view," he said. "This report will refresh the Africans' hate and spite towards other races." (*The Times*, June 2.)

In a debate in the Kenya Legislative Council Mr. S. V. Cooke, a European Elected Member, stated that the report had omitted many facts which were in favour of Jomo Kenyatta and had emphasized the facts against him. Mr. Cooke said that Kenyatta had denounced Mau Mau quite openly at a meeting in Kaloleni Hall, Nairobi. He added: "The tendency of Mr. Corfield is always to see the worst side of the man." (*The Times*, June 17.)

British Grants

Grants of over £500,000 for African education and agriculture have been made to the Kenya Government by Britain under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

£398,745 will be used for the development in the next three years. The balance of the money will be raised by local loans. A second grant, of £105,300, is to be spent on the creation and development of nine livestock artificial insemination centres in African areas of Kenya. (*Kenya Newsletter*, June 21.)

Solidarity House

Solidarity House, the new headquarters of the Kenya Federation of Labour, was opened in Nairobi by Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor.

Mr. Tom Mboya, who was re-elected general secretary of the Federation, made an attack on tribalism in his final speech. He asserted that some European settlers were exploiting tribal feelings to cause dissension and confusion among Africans.

Mr. Mboya's remarks were much more moderate than those contained in a message by Mr. Walter Reuther, the American trade union leader. Mr. Reuther should have opened Solidarity House, but was unable to come to Kenya and the Governor deputized for him. Mr. Reuther's message, read for him yesterday by Mr. Mboya, consisted of a tirade against the colonial powers and privileged minorities, whom he accused of fostering historical evils, of an inhuman pursuit of profits, and of bestial cruelty. Africa, he said, must "sweep away the trash of colonialism", but must also guard against the temptations offered by communist countries.

Mr. Reuther's outburst was wildly applauded, but has been the subject of indignant private comment among Europeans—and it is the kind of comment which makes even harder the task of the United States Information Service there of combating anti-Americanism. (*The Times*, June 20.)

Trial by Jury

Mr. Eric Griffith-Jones, Minister for Legal Affairs, stated that trial by jury cannot be extended yet to all races in Kenya because of practical difficulties and high cost it would entail.

Mr. Griffith-Jones said thirty more judges and a large increase in staff would be needed to extend the system. He pointed out that because of educational qualifications the jury list would be predominantly European.

At present only Europeans are tried by jury. Africans and Asians are tried by a judge and two assessors of their own tribe or race, but the judge can overrule their findings. (*Guardian*, April 30.)

Somali Republic

London Conference¹

ON May 12, the Somaliland Protectorate constitutional conference, which had opened at the Colonial Office on May 2, ended with the signing of a report by the Secretary of State Mr. Macleod, the Elected Ministers from the Protectorate, and the Governor, Sir Douglas Hall.

During the discussions, Mr. Macleod agreed that further constitutional steps be taken to make it possible for the Protectorate to become independent by July 1, 1960. Later the date was advanced to June 26. In response to the Elected Minister's wishes, the Secretary of State proposed that for six months after independence there should be a United Kingdom aid mission, formed of officers now serving in the Protectorate, to be available in the Somaliland public service at the request of the Somaliland Government. Similar temporary arrangements were offered for the continued secondment of British military personnel to the Somaliland Scouts. The heads of an agreement defining the conditions and purposes of this continued secondment were approved.

Mr. Macleod recalled the undertaking given by his predecessor, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, that the British Government would give sympathetic consideration to the continuation of financial assistance within the limits of the amount of aid being provided to the Protectorate. He proposed that, subject to parliamentary approval, the amount provided during the first year after independence should be £1,500,000, half of which would be for development expenditure. This sum would include the cost of the aid mission and seconded military personnel.

The Secretary of State said that in due course dependence on the United Kingdom for financial assistance would diminish. To this end the level of aid would be subject to annual review. (*The Times*, May 13.)

Joint Statement

After discussions over sixteen days the President of the Somalia Legislative Assembly, Mr. Adam Abdulla, and the Leader of Government Business in British Somaliland, Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, signed a joint communiqué, which said (*inter alia*):

"Somalia and the Somaliland Protectorate shall be united on July 1,

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

1960, according to the unanimous votes passed by the respective Parliaments. The new Somali Republic will be a unitary, democratic, and parliamentary State. The Legislative Assembly of Somalia and the Legislative Council of the Somaliland Protectorate shall be merged into a National Assembly by July 1, 1960. The National Assembly will elect the President of the Republic. A Coalition Government will be formed by the political parties now in power in the two territories. The capital of the Republic will be Mogadishu, where the National Assembly and the Government will have their seats. The two administrative provinces of the Somaliland Protectorate, together with the present six provinces of Somalia, will form the territory of the new State, divided into eight administrative provinces. Some *ad hoc* committees will be set up in order to investigate and propose convenient solutions to the problems connected with the administrative, financial and judicial systems now in force in the two territories.

"The Republic will need the co-operation of foreign experts and technicians. The conference calls therefore upon the Government of Somalia and the Government of the Protectorate to negotiate with the Powers administering the two territories the agreements that are required to ensure the new State the continued co-operation by such experts and technicians. The Government of the Republic will also ask the United Nations to supply experts who may help in accelerating the integration of the two territories. A National Army will be created. Its first nucleus will be the present National Army of Somalia together with the Somaliland Scouts." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 19.)

Independence for the Somali Republic

At midnight on June 25, British rule ended as fireworks and singing crowds heralded the independence of Somaliland. Celebrations continued throughout the night. Early on June 26, crowds thronged the polo ground for the final act of independence. Mohammed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the Prime Minister of independent Somaliland, took an oath on the Koran to the new State and hoisted the blue and white starred flag.

The last toast to the Queen was proposed by Mr. P. Carrel, the acting Governor, at a reception. He said: "This is the last occasion on which we British can offer best wishes for the future of the people of Somaliland and Somalia. May they have a happy life and prosperity for the rest of their days." The Prime Minister responded with a tribute to the British association, saying: "We have not always seen eye to eye, but we share a common ideal in the simple things of life. This is not the end of British-Somali relations. These relations are simply taking another shape for the better." (*The Times*, June 27.)

On June 27, the Somaliland Legislative Assembly unanimously approved a Bill endorsing plans to unite the country with Somalia. The Assembly met a day earlier than originally arranged, because Ministers are anxious to go to Somalia to settle a number of details in connexion with the union. Ibrahim Egal, the Prime Minister, paid tribute to the retiring British Speaker, Mr. W. F. Stubbs, to whom he said: "We have all been novices in the art of parliamentary government, and your assistance and guidance have been very highly appreciated." (*The Times*, June 28.)

Writing from Mogadishu, Miss Margery Perham commented that the new Republic of Somalia has three godparents—Britain, the United Nations, and Italy. The birth was in fact one of Siamese twins, Italian Somalia and British Somaliland, but in this case none of those attending the affair, with one possible exception, wants to see them disjoined.

She continued by saying that the young State is coming to life in a dangerous part of a dangerous world, and even before it faces outwards it has its own internal problems. It suffers less than some new or forthcoming African States from these deep divisions of culture, language or religion, which seem to deny the possibility of their nationhood. There is no mistaking a Somali anywhere in the world, but though there is this unity of a clan, and also of a common language and religion, this encircles a strong internal tribalism.

The urge of the new African State is, inevitably perhaps towards centralization from the capital. But Mogadishu will not find it easy to impose its will, however, beneficent, upon these strong nomadic units. The new political parties, for all their modern-sounding names, are still closely linked to tribal realities. And, for all the efforts of both the administering Powers, local government as the basis of a modern state does not easily

take root among a shifting population, for the character and the customs of nomads are as tough as their spare, sinewy bodies.

The union of two colonial systems, the British and Italian, presents another problem: the new State has to co-ordinate two different systems of rule with the concepts and methods which govern them. They have to harmonize two laws and two adopted languages and at the same time decide how to employ their own unwritten tongue in public life.

Of all the internal problems, poverty is the most intractable. The population is small. The 500,000 "British" Somalis are uniting with the 1,250,000 of the "Italian" zone. Both territories have had to rely heavily on grants-in-aid from the colonial Powers amounting for most of the period to about half their revenues. British Somaliland's total revenue in 1958 to 1959 was £1,653,000 and 41 per cent of this was provided from Britain, without counting Colonial Development and Welfare grants. Italian figures of the same kind can roughly be doubled. Both godparents have come forward with gifts in money and kind to tide over the infant State for the immediate future, but the long-term prospect remains alarming.

Miss Perham concluded by saying that there is respect and even affection here for Britain but less perhaps for what we have done for this people than for our readiness to cease doing it. This people, high spirited, gifted, exposed to almost every danger, makes a confident demand not only for our continuing economic help but for the most practical and human expressions of our friendship and understanding. (*The Times*, July 4.)

On July 5, the United Nations Security Council unanimously decided to recommend the admission of the Republic of Somalia to membership of the United Nations. A resolution to this effect was presented jointly by Italy, Britain, and Tunisia. Final admission has to await a decision by the General Assembly in the autumn. (*The Times*, July 6.)

It was reported that since the inception of the Republic on July 1 little progress had been made between the two Somali partners on the form and government of the Republic. They have so far agreed only on a formal ratification of the union—the ex-British Somalis accepting none of the detailed provisions.

Somaliland Ministers feel they are being cold-shouldered by the ex-Italian Somalis, who have offered them only one or two of the fifteen portfolios, including either the Prime Ministership or the Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs. In broadcasts to British Somalis Mr. Egal has announced that he will refuse to participate in any caretaker Government in Mogadishu in which Somaliland would have no executive power. He expressed "serious concern" at events in Mogadishu.

Somalia's elder statesman, Mr. Adam Abdullah Osman, was elected almost unanimously to the Presidency of the new Republic. He has yet to nominate the first Prime Minister. If, as is expected, he appoints a Somalia candidate, he is likely to choose between Mr. Abdullah Issa, former Premier of Somalia, and Mr. Abdul Rashid.

The appreciable opposition in Somalia to Mr. Issa was shown on independence morning when angry demonstrators of three Somalia Opposition parties tried to reach the Assembly building while the joint Assemblies of Somalia and Somaliland were meeting to attest their union.

The crowd, which contained many women and students, were demonstrating against what they described as the rigged elections that brought Mr. Issa to power; they demanded free elections immediately. Unable to keep control, the police fired, and one man was killed. Two were wounded.

Italy was rebuffed when the Somalis would sign only four of the fourteen agreements which the Italians formally presented. The four were a treaty of friendship, and agreements on consular rights, financial assistance, and aerial navigation and aid. The other documents, which included conventions on banana plantations, agricultural establishments, and technical aid, were rejected on the grounds that there had been insufficient time to study them or that they infringed Somali sovereignty. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, July 7.)

Relations with Ethiopia

After a visit to Ethiopia on May 19, the Leader of the Somaliland Government, the Hon. Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, gave an account of what took place to a meeting of the Council of Elders. He said the visit had not been very successful. The Ethiopian authorities viewed the proposal to unite Somaliland and Somalia with disfavour and all the meetings in Addis

Ababa had been marred by the uncooperative attitude of the Ethiopian members. (*Somaliland News*, May 30.)

An editorial in *The Times*, June 25, commented: "No pieces of the political jig-saw of Africa are as difficult to fit together as those that make up the Horn. The delineation of international boundaries at the end of the last century was even less discriminating than elsewhere, for it left the Somalis living in five separately-governed areas. To the normal desire for independence, Somali nationalism has therefore had added a strong urge to break down these frontiers and unite."

"The creation of the Somali Republic will not only give the spur to thoughts of Somali unity. It will cause misgivings in neighbouring countries, particularly in Ethiopia, which has nearly half a million Somalis within its borders. British Somali tribes have enjoyed grazing rights in the Scheduled Areas of Ethiopia, which rights were most recently defined in an agreement signed between Britain and Ethiopia, in 1954. This agreement lapses when the Somaliland Protectorate becomes independent.

"A disquieting result of the abruptness of the moves over British Somaliland is that there has been no time to negotiate any new agreement with Ethiopia about grazing rights. At present something like a third of the population of British Somaliland cross the border every year to graze and water their cattle in Ethiopia. Their right to do so has hitherto been acknowledged by the Ethiopian Government and protected by the British.

"The long and difficult negotiations that preceded the signing of the 1954 agreement and the frequent border incidents that have marred relations between Somaliland and Ethiopia since do not promise an easy settlement.

"The recent deputation of Somalis to Ethiopia to discuss the continuation of the agreement was rebuffed because, it was said by Ethiopians, its members talked vehemently of the unification of all Somalis and of the idea of a 'Greater Somalia', which would include some of the territory that is now Ethiopia. The incident reveals both the inexperience of the Somali Ministers who formed the delegation and the understandable anxieties of the Ethiopian Government.

"Ethiopia's fears are old and some of them, such as that the British Government is embroiled in a long-planned scheme to wrest the Haud and Ogaden areas from Ethiopia (a suspicion that probably dates from Mr. Ernest Bevin's union proposal of 1946) are unjustified. Equally there is no cause for Ethiopia to fear Somali military aggression, since the new Somali State has the minutest of armed forces. But Ethiopians suppose that the pull of Somali unity will itself be a force that is almost irresistible, and this appreciation is well founded. In their present ebullient mood Somalis feel that ultimate union with the Somali areas of Ethiopia, not to mention those of French Somaliland and northern Kenya, is not only inevitable but right. They may have difficulty in claiming support for this view in international law. But they might, on the South African analogy, gain support in the United Nations for Somali minorities outside Somalia. . . .

"The United Nations has a special duty in this area, for the new Republic is largely its creation and Ethiopia is a country which has always had a special regard for international organizations. It is possible that the difficult first few months of independence will convince Somalis of the need to get their new country firmly established before other adventures are contemplated. It is possible also that the continuation of outside pressure will have the opposite effect to the one intended, since attempts by others to interfere in the Horn are likely to be fiercely resented. How far such hopes are vain can be judged only by the course of events, which Somalis are for the first time about to have a chance of ordering for themselves."

Sudan

Economic Progress

IT is just over four years since the Sudan became an independent republic. Except for the first year, it has been a difficult period in economic affairs. In 1957 and 1958 the steep fall in the world price of and demand for cotton made the marketing of the country's principal export crop a difficult problem. In 1959, however, affairs took a turn for the better and economic prospects are more favourable than for some time past.

The satisfactory sales of cotton in 1959 brought about a very substantial improvement in the current trading position of the Sudan. In the two preceding years there were adverse balances on visible trade, amounting to nearly £15 million in 1957 and just over £16 million in 1958. By contrast, for the first nine months of 1959 there was a favourable balance of £19.5 million which led to a marked rise in the country's foreign exchange reserves. At the end of 1958 these totalled about £2.5 million and by the end of September 1959 they had risen to nearly £5 million. The figure at the end of the year was probably somewhat less, because the favourable trade swing has enabled the Government to relax control.

A notable event in 1959 was the conclusion in November of an agreement on the sharing of the Nile waters by the Sudan and the United Arab Republic.

Economic expansion in the Sudan depends very largely on an increase in the area of irrigated land for the cultivation of cotton and food crops. A large increase is being brought about by the Managil extension of the Gezira scheme, one-third of which will be available for cotton. Half the planned area has so far been brought under cultivation. Further progress depends on the provision of additional water through the construction of a proposed dam at Roseires, higher up the Blue Nile. It is understood that the International Bank is again considering the project, the first phase of which is estimated to cost £35 million. The dam would ultimately provide water for a much larger area than that comprised in the Managil scheme.

Construction of a hydro-electric power station costing £4.5 million has recently started at the Sennar dam. A \$20 million textile factory (10 million provided by the U.S. Development Loan Fund) has been started at Khartoum. An oil refinery is to be built in Port Sudan, and several companies are prospecting for the mineral itself. Railway expansion is going ahead, assisted by a \$39 million loan from the International Bank. A number of factories manufacturing consumer goods of various kinds have recently been opened, and others are expected to be in operation shortly. These new enterprises tend towards a highly desirable diversification of economic activity. (*Overseas Review*, March.)

Education

When the Sudan was granted independence in 1955, it inherited an educational legacy left by over fifty years of British rule. All the present secondary schools have been established in the last twenty years. There are at present eighteen secondary schools in the Sudan scattered all over the country. At present only two of these schools are for girls.

The entrance examination is taken after eight years of elementary and intermediate education, at about the age of 14. Fees are paid by those who can afford them. The majority of the masters are now Sudanese, but there are still quite a number of British and Egyptian teachers.

The British linked secondary education to the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in 1937, and until recently this examination was taken in an unmodified form. The Sudan Examinations Council has now been set up and in recent years the papers have been more suitable for Sudanese candidates. The examination is in English, except for Arabic language and Islamic Religion Papers. The obvious language difficulty apart, it is in fact harder for a Sudanese boy to get a school certificate than it is for an English boy to get G.C.E. as it is still necessary to pass in English language. About a thousand candidates take the examination each year and over half pass. Competition for entry to Khartoum University is severe.

Tanganyika

Independence

In a memorandum to the U.N. visiting mission the Tanganyika African National Union demanded that the proposed general election in September should be mounted as a plebiscite for the independence of the territory. The grounds for the demand are that responsible government is no longer an election issue, and that the whole country, which was united and peaceful, was demanding immediate independence.

"Mounting another election after the September one, before the country attains independence would be unnecessary, unwise and wasteful,"

said the memorandum. It seemed to be a convention of the United Nations to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of a Trust Territory through a plebiscite prior to independence.

While welcoming the findings of the Ramage Committee and the recommendations of the administering authority, Tanu says: "Nevertheless we strongly feel that universal adult suffrage should have been granted. We hope . . . that the reservation of seats is but a temporary expediency. Our avowed policy is to build a non-racial democratic state in which individual rights will be respected."

The memorandum stressed the need for education at all levels and asked for "all the help possible so as to establish a university in the territory as quickly as possible". (*Uganda Argus*, April 6.)

Tanu, which is expected to form a government in September, is committed to demanding independence by 1961. A meeting of the union's national executive resolved to seek a mandate on this issue in the forthcoming general elections. The executive also directed the Union's members to introduce a resolution calling for independence by 1961 in the Legislative Council as soon as they form a government. (*The Times*, May 28.)

In a report published on May 30, the U.N. Mission to Tanganyika stated that Tanganyika's major problems are (1) to establish a competent corps of officials in sufficient numbers to provide for growing needs, and (2) to secure sufficient financial and technical assistance to expand the education and other essential services and maintain a satisfactory rate of economic development.

The mission had in mind the importance of preparing Africans to take over as many senior posts as possible, and was confident that a future responsible government would intensify localization. Referring to the anxiety of the expatriate Civil Servants at the progressive deterioration of their position, the mission said that a solution of the difficulties of emoluments and service conditions was urgently required.

Britain, and the United Nations, the report said, could make a great contribution by assisting in a programme for expanding secondary and higher education, to supply the public service with sufficient locally qualified officers. "The most noteworthy political feature is the peaceful, harmonious atmosphere of good will. All evidence indicates the territory's smooth and rapid progress to independence. The problems that remain are largely technical and financial."

In this connexion the mission laid stress on the obligation of the international community and international organizations to provide aid. Existing United Nations programmes could meet Tanganyika's needs only to a limited extent, but "the United Nations, which has helped to accelerate the rapid and peaceful political development, has a duty to assist to a greater extent in the solution of the economic problems associated with independence".

The mission reported that it was assured by the Colonial Secretary that he was anxious for Tanganyika to remain a showpiece, and that it would not be held back because of possible repercussions in other territories. The fundamental agricultural problem was not land shortage but low productivity. With the changed political atmosphere, and the emphasis placed by the African leaders on economic development, a new attitude was beginning to be shown by farmers. Funds for a mineral wealth survey should be found, as foreign capital would not be attracted without some indication of an economic return.

The report added that the co-operative movement had made an important contribution to development, and it was hoped that a central co-operative union would be formed this year. The movement had not only facilitated the spread of wealth but had done much to improve farming methods. Competent trade union leaders were required at local level, and further training of branch officials was unquestionably needed. A "crash programme" was called for in education, especially secondary education. (*The Times*, May 31.)

The End of Civil Service Rule

On Commonwealth Day, May 24, the Legislative Council adjourned *sine die* and the Civil Service Government ceased. When the House re-assembles in October it will be a predominantly African Government with a preponderance of elected Ministers.

Mr. Wenban-Smith, Minister of Education and Labour, in a farewell speech, wished especial fortune to Mr. Julius Nyerere, who will almost certainly be the first Chief Minister in the new Government, and said to the House: "I am sad to leave, but I entirely agree that the time has come for the replacement of Civil Service Ministers by elected Ministers. After all, it is what I and my colleagues have been working for quite a long time." (*The Times*, May 25.)

Mr. Nyerere's Views on Corruption

Mr. Julius Nyerere, addressing students of the Local Government School at Mzumbe on May 6, said that responsible government in September would mean much harder work than at present. Mr. Nyerere warned his audience against the old-fashioned habit of gifts in kind to chiefs and other people in authority. He felt that whereas in the past there might have been some good reason for chiefs to expect gifts to support them, it was highly improper to expect or encourage the habit today, when chiefs and others in authority received a salary. The habit was a bad one, he emphasized, because in most cases people who brought gifts to chiefs expected favours in return, which amounted to bribery, and the people of Tanganyika could now no longer afford "to see justice purchased with gifts of goats and chickens". (*Public Relations Department, Tanganyika*, May 7.)

During the Budget debate in the Legislative Council, Mr. Nyerere said: "There is corruption in Tanganyika and it must be treated ruthlessly." Bribery and corruption among officials of trade unions, co-operatives, local governments, Civil Servants and political organizations, would have to be treated like treason if people were to have confidence in their own Government.

Mr. Nyerere also went out of his way to give some reassurance to expatriate Civil Servants whose salary scale some T.A.N.U. extremists contend should be brought down to the level of locally recruited officers. Mr. Nyerere said higher rates would continue to be paid to expatriates after responsible government, "for you have got to offer such salaries to attract people to come to Tanganyika". He thought it necessary to make very clear the distinction on salaries, "although it will not be popular". (*The Times*, May 19.)

Sugar Agreement

An agreement to invest £2,300,000 in the Kilombero Sugar Co. Ltd., to help grow and mill sugar cane to produce refined sugar for the Tanganyika market has been signed by the International Finance Corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation, the Netherlands Overseas Finance Co. and Vereenigde Klattensche Cultuur Maatschappij.

The estimated total cost of the project is £3,210,000. Additional finance will come from an issue of Convertible Preferred shares of the K.S.C. totalling £700,000.

The K.S.C. is acquiring a concession of fertile land from the Tanganyika Government on the Great Ruaha River in the Kilombero Valley. About seven thousand acres will be cleared for growing sugar cane and a sugar mill and refinery with an initial capacity of 20,000 tons of refined sugar a year will be built. Production is expected to begin in 1962, and the company plans to expand production to 30,000 tons a year as soon as it is justified by increased market demand.

By the time the mill comes into production, the operation of the plantation and the factory will require a labour force of about four thousand. Houses will be built for workers and medical and welfare facilities will also be provided. (*East African Standard*, June 3.)

Uganda

Delegation to the Colonial Secretary

On June 22 a delegation of Representative Members of the Uganda Legislative Council met the Secretary of State in London for discussions on the Wild Report and the decisions of Her Majesty's Government on the recommendations in the report. The delegation consisted of Messrs. J. K. Babuhiha, G. Oda, B. K. S. Verjee, G. D. Cannon, A. M. Obote, M. M. Ngobi, I. D. Hunter, and Mrs. B. Saben, G. B. Magezi, C. B. Katiti, and D. V. Broadhead-Williams. The Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, was

unable to attend. The Chief Secretary designate, Mr. G. B. Cartland, however, was present.

A joint communiqué issued on June 29 stated that the delegation comprised members who supported the majority recommendations in the report of the Constitutional Committee (the Wild Committee)—the majority delegation; and members who supported the minority recommendations, the minority delegation.

The communiqué stated that the majority delegation expressed their keen disappointment that the decisions reached on the Wild Committee's report had in some important respects, fallen short of public expectation. The Secretary of State explained why he had made these decisions, which, he stated, represented a major advance for Uganda. He took the opportunity to inform the conference that he hoped that, following the elections in 1961, political circumstances in Uganda would enable the Protectorate to make rapid progress towards internal self-government and the final goal of independence.

The majority delegation raised questions, relating, among other things, to the forthcoming elections, with special reference to universal adult suffrage on a common roll; to the composition of the Executive Council; to the creation of specially elected members; to the power of nomination; and to the appointment of a Chief Minister. In reply, the Secretary of State told the delegation that he would be embodying his conclusions on the recommendations of the Wild Report in a dispatch to the Governor which would be published. He added that, in the event of the elections showing a clear result, he would consider the situation at once. He also made it clear that decisions would need to be taken as early as possible, on the final form of Government which would be best suited to the needs of an independent Uganda; for that reason he was proceeding with the appointment of a Relationships Commission. The majority delegation expressed their views on the importance of the Relationships Commission, the need for it to be appointed early, and on its membership and scope.

The minority delegation expressed themselves as generally satisfied with the Secretary of State's views, but emphasized the need for a clear direction of purpose in constitutional and political matters so that stability and confidence in the country, particularly in the economic sphere, could be maintained. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, July 7.)

Mr. A. M. Obote, president of the Uganda People's Congress, issued the following statement on the conclusion of the talks: "We are glad, after our discussions with the Secretary of State, that the 'firm decisions' announced last February regarding Uganda's 1961 Constitution, are no longer to be treated as such. We have not succeeded on our demands and objectives for a universal adult suffrage, but we are convinced that this was due to the fact that a Franchise Bill had already passed through the Legislative Council last month and any amendment to it would delay the forthcoming elections. The Secretary of State came a long way to meet our demands on the composition and responsibility of the Cabinet and the post of the Chief Minister.

"We have supported the early appointment of the Relationships Commission, and our view is that the Commission's report should form the basis of a conference to discuss the independence of Uganda, and that this conference should take place in the first half of 1961.

"British Governments of all parties have decided on constitutional changes too late, and on each occasion gave too little. Now we shall press for complete independence and have no doubt whatsoever that Her Majesty's Government will have to surrender all powers to the Elected Representatives of the people in 1961. My party, the Uganda People's Congress, is determined to establish a strong Central Government, and when the British quit next year the Party will continue to work for not only the freedom of the country, but also the freedom of the people of the country."

Local Constitutional Discussions

A summit conference of the prime ministers of the kingdoms and the secretaries-general of the African local governments from all over Uganda started on May 17. The Kabaka of Buganda, who was to have opened this conference, failed to appear. Buganda's Premier explained that a disagreement had arisen during private preliminary meetings when the secretaries-general objected to the Kabaka of Buganda opening the conference and

claimed that the Governor of Uganda should have been asked to perform the ceremony.

The incident reflected the cleavage of interests between the royal kingdoms and the non-royal African local governments from northern and eastern Uganda. The conference was called to discuss Uganda's constitutional future and was regarded as an attempt by the ministers of the African kingdoms to persuade the rest of the country to support the idea of a federal constitution. (*Guardian*, May 18.)

Addressing the conference, the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, said that he welcomed the idea of this conference but had hoped that it might have been extended to include the political leaders, because sooner or later there would have to be a reconciliation between the political and traditional elements in Uganda. He gave a word of warning about federal constitutions, which, he said, were gaining popularity in Uganda, saying that they were "quite complicated, and, being two-tier, quite expensive".

In reply to questions, he explained that the main reason why the Government had not wanted to implement the majority recommendations of the Wild report in full was that this might have prejudiced the findings of the relationship commission which is to be set up later on. The commission would be expected not so much to make recommendations as to clarify the issues; the actual decisions with regard to the constitution would have to be taken by the people themselves afterwards, and he envisaged that there might have to be a round table conference in London when the commission's findings were known. He said that the constitutional changes which had already been announced after the Wild report should be regarded as an interim measure "for two or three years until we get the constitution settled", and that the next step would be the final one "as far as we British are concerned". (*The Times*, May 21.)

A *Times* editorial on May 30 stated: "Uganda's dispute is not one in which either the British Government or the local administration can act conclusively. The division lies between Africans loyal to the kingdoms of the Protectorate, who wish to preserve traditional and often inherited powers in whatever constitution Uganda finally has, and Africans who follow the more usual nationalist line and wish to make Uganda a unitary state with all effective power in the hands of the political party that wins an electoral majority."

"As a result of the Wild Report published in December there is to be a majority of African Members, elected on a common roll, in the Legislative Council, and an unofficial majority in the Executive Council. Other recommendations of the Wild Committee have not been adopted, principally because it is not yet clear what system of government Uganda ought finally to have."

"The Wild Committee's proposals strongly favoured the nationalist politicians. The Governor has not committed himself as far as this, and by refraining from putting into effect all its recommendations seems now to have won some co-operation from the traditionalists. Clearly this policy of caution is intended to smooth the way towards the desired reconciliation. Its obvious danger is that, by appearing to favour the traditionalists, it may add undue strength to the nationalist politicians."

"During the next few months all these constitutional controversies will be put in the melting pot. A commission will examine what should be the relationship between the various parts of Uganda and its centre, and how the status of the hereditary rulers can be preserved within the framework suggested."

Buganda Boycott of the Next Election

It was thought that the great majority of adults in Uganda would get the vote under the new franchise proposals, although the Government has rejected the Wild Committee's recommendation of a universal franchise. Voters must be British subjects, British protected persons or have spent five out of the past eight years in Uganda. They must be over 21, and if they are over 40 they need no further qualifications. But if they are under 40 they must also show that they satisfy one or other, property, income, occupational or educational requirement, or that they are or have been members of some council, be it the Legislative Council or merely a parish council.

The income qualification, the only one to have been altered since the 1958 elections, is £175. (*The Times*, June 11.)

The announcement by the Premier of Buganda, Mr. Michael Kintu, that Buganda will not participate in next year's elections unless constitutional arrangements acceptable to Buganda are known, came as a shock to the Protectorate Government. It had been widely believed that Buganda's participation in the elections was virtually assured.

Mr. Kintu, however, claimed that the election ordinance which came into effect last week, and which announced dates for voters' registration in July and August, could not be applied in Buganda and that no Muganda citizen could stand for election until the Lukiko had reached agreement on constitutional matters with the British Government.

It was considered possible that in taking this attitude Buganda was merely retaining some bargaining points for future negotiations, but it will be recalled that Buganda's recalcitrance in the 1958 elections resulted in their being called off in the kingdom, which has had no representation in the Legislative Council since then. This latest Buganda attitude also placed the recently formed United National Party in an embarrassing situation, for it is led by a number of prominent Baganda, who were hoping to bring Buganda back into the arena of national politics. (*Guardian*, July 3.)

Talks between the Governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Crawford, and the Constitutional Committee of the Government of the Kabaka of Buganda, headed by the Kabaka's Prime Minister, Mr. Michael Kintu, reached total deadlock. The Uganda representatives withdrew without a date for any new meeting having been agreed. It was understood that Mr. Kintu told the Governor that "the Baganda people will not be able to take part in the all-Uganda elections planned by the British authorities for next spring unless our demands to the Secretary of State have first been satisfactorily resolved".

The attitude of the Buganda Government makes it at least doubtful whether effective elections can be held. Both the Kabaka's representatives and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, have now committed themselves firmly to diametrically opposite courses on the election issue.

The Buganda Government has announced that it is completely uninterested in political parties and in elections in which the Baganda people cannot under present circumstances take part. They desire only to continue their highly organized tribal and feudalistic government system under the Kabaka Mutesa. (*Daily Telegraph*, July 7.)

New Party Launched

A new group for moderates, to be known as the United National Party, has been launched. Among its founder members were two Ministers in the Protectorate Government, Mr. Apollo Kironde, who is to be its leader, and Mr. Y. K. Lule, and a member of the Buganda Government, Mr. Abu Mayanja, formerly associated with the Uganda People's Congress, who is to be publicity secretary.

The new Party absorbs the former Uganda National Party and the United Party, neither of which had ever really got going. All the leading members are Baganda, although they have been at pains to include a few others, mostly unknown, to give the Party an all-Uganda look.

No aims have been stated, except those of seeking independence as soon as possible and trying to reduce the number of parties, but the draft constitution pledges the Party to uphold the institution of kingship in the kingdom states and to safeguard the position and status of the traditional rulers.

Mr. Kironde told the Press that the Party would seek a composite form of Government incorporating the best in the federal and unitary systems "with a bias towards the federal". The Party has enlisted the support of a few prominent trade unionists, and hopes to achieve a merger with Mr. Obote's Uganda People's Congress, hitherto generally regarded as the only important party in the country. (*The Times*, June 21.)

Civil Service Recruitment

The 1959 report of the Public Service Commission stated that the number of successful candidates in the Cambridge School Certificate examination was 606 in 1959, showing an advance from 497 in 1958 and 380 in 1957. This rate of increase, however, is likely to slow down appreciably during the next three years.

It said that at the end of 1958 advertisements were published inviting applications for appointments to the Provincial Administration. The result

was disappointing. Though a fairly large number of applications was received, no candidate was considered suitable for appointment as cadet district officer. Only one was suitable for appointment as assistant administrative officer.

The distribution of senior posts in the Civil Service among the various races at the end of 1959 showed 506 Europeans, 62 Africans and 24 Asians in Scale A; 657 Europeans, 68 Africans and 104 Asians in Scale B; and 677 Europeans, 464 Africans and 438 Asians in Scale C and allied grades. The report stated that the totals for Africans and Asians on the B and C scales are to some extent misleading. This is because Asian teachers are Government staff and are included in the totals. African teaching staff on comparable scales belong to the teaching service, and not being within the Commission's terms of reference, are excluded. (*Uganda Argus*, April 5.)

Boycott of Non-African Traders

No one was hurt when more bombs exploded on April 14, 19 and 20. The Governor and Chief Secretary met representatives of the Kabaka's Government to discuss what might be done to restore law and order in Buganda. Much of the continued violence was a direct result of the boycott of Non-African trade, which seems to have had the effect of causing a marked increase of crime in general.

After the meeting a statement was issued by the Governor saying that the protectorate Government would co-operate with the Kabaka's Government to the fullest extent in bringing the present serious crime situation to an end. (*The Times*, May 16.)

In subsequent weeks the security situation eased and as a result the Government released six men who had been rusticated to the Northern Province for implication in the boycott movement.

Only four remained in detention and their release was expected shortly. Last week restrictions on meetings of more than twenty-five persons in Buganda were relaxed so that only in Kampala municipality and Masaka township are permits still required. (*Guardian*, June 29.)

Bukedi Disturbances¹

Mr. Malaki Kirya, a Bukedi member of the Legislative Council, has been banned from visiting his constituency and Mr. Joseph Wasukulu, president of the district branch of the former Uganda National Congress (now the Uganda People's Congress), has been arrested for deportation following the report of the Commission of Inquiry, under Mr. Justice Bennett, in the Bukedi tax riots.

Mr. Kirya was in India at the time of the riots, in which fifteen people died and property worth £296,000 was destroyed or damaged. The report, however, clearly held him responsible. It stated: "We find as a fact that Mr. Kirya, aided by his lieutenant and by others of his persuasion, did foment for political purposes certain tax perplexities of the people of Bukedi, and, having added to those perplexities others of his own invention, he did encourage the adoption of violence by these people."

"We believe that he did this, notwithstanding that he was a member of the council which imposed the tax, in order to bring local government in Bukedi to a standstill until such time as he and his colleagues might exercise sole authority.

"It may be that Mr. Wasukulu's efforts to stimulate turbulent opposition to tax payments and to the existing régime detonated a charge which had been laid by Mr. Kirya. But those having explosive material under their control should not be careless, and the deaths and damage which we have described must be laid at Mr. Kirya's door." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 26.)

A Uganda Government sessional paper said of Messrs. Wasukulu and Kirya: "It would not be proper to comment on their share of responsibility for what occurred, since this is still the subject of examination by the Director of Public Prosecutions."

Of the fifteen people who were killed in the disturbance only four were caused by police action. In each of these four cases an inquest was held which resulted in a verdict of justifiable homicide. Against this, seven people were known to have been killed by rioters, and the remainder were killed by chiefs or others in self-defence. (*Uganda News*, May 21.)

The Commission of Inquiry into the riots recommended that taxes at

the lower levels should be reduced, but the Government said that it could not accept this. Instead taxes will now be collected in accordance with the original assessments made at the end of last year. The reassessments to a higher rate, which in some instances were made by lower chiefs to enable them to fulfil their quota, and which partly provoked the February riots, are to be ignored.

In addition each taxpayer is now to be asked to pay a further 105 shillings, which may be spread over three years, to enable the Government to pay compensation for loss of life, injuries, and damage arising out of the riots. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 26.)

It was announced that on July 1 the Governor had signed a deportation order in respect of Mr. J. Wasukulu, following an inquiry held before a Judge of H.M. High Court under the provisions of the Deportation Ordinance. By the terms of this order, Mr. Wasukulu may live anywhere in the Protectorate he wishes, other than in the Eastern Province. (*Uganda News*, July 1.)

Karamoja Shooting

A cadet assistant superintendent of the Uganda police, Mr. Cedric Ronald Weeding, from Ipswich, was shot and killed by a Turkana tribesman in a tribal clash. The shooting occurred close to the Uganda borders with Sudan and Kenya. Mr. Weeding, who was in charge of one of the regular police patrols in the district, came upon a party of armed Turkana tribesmen and one of them shot him in the stomach. One Turkana was believed to have been wounded, and a Dodoth tribesman killed.

Police at Moroto, the Karamoja district headquarters town, said there were large numbers of armed Turkana in the area. The tribesmen cross the border from Kenya from time to time on cattle raids. Police reinforcements were sent to the scene of the shooting from Kampala this morning, and a company of the 4th Battalion, King's African Rifles, flown by R.A.F. transports based on Nairobi from the army garrison at Jinja. (*The Times* June 23.)

Search for Minerals

An intensive search for minerals in Uganda is to be undertaken during the next few years at an estimated total cost of £216,000. In addition to the usual ground survey, an aerial geophysical survey expected to take about seven months to complete will cost about £112,000. Ninety-five thousand pounds of the cost of the air survey will be paid for by the United Nations Special Fund, and the balance of £17,000 by the Uganda Government. The cost of the ground survey, about £104,000, will also be met by the Uganda Government.

Three areas have been selected for the survey. The first covers about 6,750 square miles of Karamoja; the second is an area 20 by 150 miles following the Aswa River across Acholi; and the third is a belt along the eastern side of the Western Rift. (*Uganda News*, June 7.)

Zanzibar

Commission of Inquiry¹

ONE of the memoranda received by Sir Hilary Blood, Zanzibar's Constitutional Commissioner, was from the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, who said he would be failing in his duty and mocking the people if he recommended anything less than full independence for the country; that it was clear that Zanzibar should have been a self-governing protected State and not a colonial protectorate, and even the word "protection" had become redundant since the defeat of the Germans in 1918.

The memorandum proposed that the Sultan should exercise his functions through a Privy Council, that Zanzibar citizenship should be safeguarded by a law to the effect that a naturalized person may not exercise his citizenship rights until after a probationary period of three years, and that the Legislative Council should be bicameral. (*East African Standard*, May 20.)

The report of the Commission was published on June 15. It conformed to the virtually accepted pattern of rapid advancement of dependent

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

peoples, but contained the revolutionary suggestion that there should be an officially recognized Opposition with a salaried Leader.

The report emphasized the esteem in which the Sultan is held and suggested that his position be not only maintained but strengthened by making his salary a statutory charge instead of an annual vote as at present.

The main recommendations were that official membership of the Legislative Council should cease and all twenty-one members be replaced by elected members in a new House of twenty-nine members, under an independent Speaker; a ministerial system should be established under a Chief Minister, presumed to be the leader of the majority party, but the British Resident should continue as president of the Executive Council. Sir Hilary drew a parallel between Zanzibar and Singapore, and said: "I see Zanzibar in due course as an internally self-governing state."

Sir Hilary said that political events on the mainland have overtaken Zanzibar, but "whatever may be happening elsewhere, my investigations have indicated that a period of real ministerial responsibility, during which power in the Resident's hands will enable him to come to the rescue should anything go vitally wrong is required". The Commissioner's report therefore contained necessary safeguards over and above the retention of the Resident's ultimate powers, namely that three ex-officio members in the Financial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Chief Secretary should continue in office with five appointed members.

He emphasized the fact that the economy is at present passing through a period of depression, and that his suggested constitutional reforms could therefore be effected with reasonable regard for the economy. His recommendations had also been drafted with the possibility of federation with the three East African territories in mind. (*The Times*, June 16.)

SOUTHERN AFRICA High Commission Territories

Basutoland Review of Education

DURING 1958 enrolment in all types of schools has shown an increase of 5,439, but the principal increase has been in the primary schools where numbers have risen from 114,276 in 1957 to 119,312 in 1958. This increase was equally divided between the aided Mission schools and the unaided ones.

The Central Advisory Board's unanimous recommendation that grants be withdrawn from schools where buildings do not fulfil certain basic minimum conditions by January 1960, was accepted by the Resident Commissioner. This has done much to bring about a significant improvement in accommodation standards, with some encouraging examples of local initiative in improving conditions. It is hoped that no grants will have to be withdrawn.

The number of primary schools has shown an increase of twenty-one from 976 in 1957 to 997 in 1958. One hundred and eighty-three of these are unaided, and all except nine are under Mission control. These nine consist of five committee-controlled Higher Primary Schools, three aided Night Schools, and a school for the children of lepers.

There has been an increase in the number of Higher Primary Schools from ninety to ninety-nine. None of the new schools could be aided in 1958. A further five such schools have been approved for 1959, bringing the total to 104, which is considered enough to meet the needs of the lower primary output for the time being.

There were nineteen schools offering secondary education in 1958. Of these, only three offered the full five-year course up to matriculation. Seven more offered the three-year junior certificate course, and the remainder were developing schools offering only one or two years of the course.

Twelve students obtained full matriculation in 1958 and six passed the school-leaving examination. Sixty-three candidates sat for these exams. The failures were largely due to an insufficient knowledge of English.

There were 514 teachers in training in the seven centres in 1958. There

were 115 enrolled in the Lerotholi Technical School in the building, carpentry, cabinet-making, leatherwork, tailoring, motor-mechanics, and clerical courses. At Leloaleng there were forty-nine in the building, masonry, leatherwork and motor-mechanics' courses. Nine hundred and thirteen girls were enrolled in the various housecraft, needlecraft and weaving classes in 1958. It is felt that there is a need for more technical training for boys, and a third technical school in the north of the territory has been approved. It is discouraging, however, to see that the Basuto are not forthcoming in large numbers to seek places in our existing trade schools, and half the enrolment at Leloaleng in 1958 was extraterritorial.

One hundred and nine students were enrolled at Pius XII College in 1958 of whom twenty-two were from Basutoland.

There were nine Basuto at universities in South Africa, including six at the Durban Medical School. Three were at Fort Hare. In United Kingdom universities and colleges, there were thirteen men and one woman. The woman entered the second year of her three-year Domestic Science Diploma Course at Bath, and the men were doing degree courses in Medicine, Engineering, Veterinary Science, Agriculture, Law, Philosophy and Economics, and a diploma course in Administration.

Two Basuto were studying in Southern Rhodesia, and three in American universities. Several are known to be studying in India. (*Basutoland 1958*, H.M.S.O.)

Air Lift from Bechuanaland

South African political refugees travelled by special airlift from Bechuanaland to Ghana. An aircraft owned by a charter company flew directly from Bechuanaland to Elisabethville. Arrangements were made by Mrs. Eileen Bing, wife of Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., the Attorney-General of Ghana, in a personal capacity. Mr. D. S. D. McWilliam, Permanent Secretary to the Ghana Interior Minister, was sent by the Ghana Government to discuss with the Federal Government whether there is any way in which refugees from South Africa who wish to take up residence in Ghana may pass through the Federation, but Mr. McWilliam did not get the Federal Government to accept the validity of a Ghana travel document.

The *Guardian* (June 6) commented: "The Ghana Government, along with Christian Action and Mrs. Geoffrey Bing, deserve thanks for their part in extricating four people wanted by the South African Government, and three children, from a precarious refuge in Bechuanaland. It is hard to see how the South African Government can object: these are not fugitives from justice and no charges are outstanding against them. For political reasons the Government does not want them at large in South Africa. Well, they no longer are."

Swaziland Progress

It is hoped an £18 million project recently announced by the South African Government will eventually benefit Swazi farmers. The scheme is to block the Pongola River as it passes through a gap in the Lemombo Mountains, and supply the water to farmlands on the Natal Transvaal border; in its final stage the dam will overflow into Swaziland, and irrigation supplies will become available to many low-veld farmers there—at little cost to the Protectorate.

Some months ago the Protectorate was given a great boost with the announcement of a £10 million project sponsored jointly by Courtaulds and the Colonial Development Corporation to make wood-pulp for export. . .¹

For many years Swaziland has relied on the great Havelock asbestos mine, one of the first five in the world, for the bulk of its foreign exchange, helped by slaughter stock, seed cotton, and rice. But the extension of sugar planting and citrus-growing is altering the older pattern. A fair estimate would be that Swaziland's total exports may reach £8 million in some three years, about double the present figure.

There is a rapidly growing trade in catering for tourists—and, apparently, émigrés. Small matters often have quite important consequences. In the Union, for instance, women are not allowed into bars, however saloon-like they may be; Swaziland invites them to share the hospitality of "Old English pubs". Moreover, Mbabane, Bremersdorp, and Stegi lie

¹DIGEST VII, 1.

along one of the two main roads between Johannesburg and Lourenço Marques, southern Africa's only "Continental" resort.

Here is a country roughly the size of Wales, a land of great rivers, mountainous in the west and rolling down to almost sea-level in the east, where benevolent feudalism has kept its 240,000 inhabitants contented, and where Europeans are welcomed. There are, however, growing demands for more say in the government by the Swazi people, an inevitable consequence of the constitution given to Basutoland, a territory with nothing like the same richness or potential. (*The Times*, June 10.)

Swazi Paramount Chief's Views

Sobhuza II of the Swazis has said that Africans do not wish to deprive other people of their rights. They want rights of their own. They realize they must live together with Whites. He did not believe any true African would think of trying to drive out Whites, and to take over from them what they hold at present.

"It is clear to me that both the African and the European seek the protection of the rights, and it is therefore necessary not only to assure the European that he will not be ousted from Africa, but also to assure the African that he is not to be kept for ever as a subject person." Giving his views on the European "one man, one vote" system Paramount Chief Sobhuza said it was totally unfamiliar to Africans and there was no good reason why it should be forced on them.

He said: "I firmly believe that South Africa will one day surprise the world; that South Africa will eventually produce the right answer to its problems with a policy that will satisfy the rest of the world." (*S.A. Star*, June 24.)

South Africa, Union of Government Speakers Look Ahead

DR. VERWOERD, in a statement read by Dr. Donges, said: "The meeting of Commonwealth Ministers in London has been followed by highly irresponsible press comment here and overseas and by comment by political leaders, which has made it necessary to state the actual position in the interests of South Africa and its good and friendly relations with Britain and the Commonwealth.

"These attacks obviously have two purposes—firstly, to create the impression that South Africa has been humiliated at the conference, in the hope that the Government would be affected thereby and, secondly, and more particularly, attempt to misuse the conference to influence the republican referendum against the establishment of a republic. . . .

"In order to obviate such wrong conclusions being drawn and to prevent harmful results arising from such politically motivated misrepresentations or erroneous deductions, I wish to state, in the interests of South Africa and the continuance of its friendship with Britain and the Commonwealth, the actual position as follows: for South Africa there were three essential points which had to emerge from the conference of Prime Ministers, and in all three respects the Union was given entire satisfaction.

"The first was that the only official meeting of members of the Commonwealth, namely the conference of Prime Ministers, should not attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of member countries. Not only did this not occur, but once again it was explicitly decided that the long-standing tradition and convention that interference may not take place should be upheld. The Union Government remains convinced that its solution of the racial problem is a more human and a more ethical and lasting one than those of its critics. . . .

"The second point of importance for South Africa was that, in view of public criticism in member countries regarding the Union's continued membership of the Commonwealth today, the Government desired to have specific indication whether the Union is still welcome as a member. This question was put directly on behalf of South Africa, and with due regard to the existing unanimity rule, was unambiguously answered in the affirmative. It is clear from this that it is the desire of member countries that South Africa should remain a member of the Commonwealth even though the differences of opinion concerning its racial policies were known.

"The third point of importance for South Africa was that it was necessary once again to state clearly that the form of government of a member country—be it a republic or a monarchy—was entirely its own affair. This was so confirmed.

"From this, taken together with the preceding point, there follows only one conclusion: namely, that whereas South Africa's membership as a monarchy is, despite differences, expressly desired, and whereas if the form of government—republic or monarchy—is not a condition of membership and is indeed not even a matter for consideration by the Commonwealth, the Union, in the event of its becoming a republic with all the other circumstances remaining unchanged, will be equally welcome. Any other interpretation would be unfair towards the Commonwealth and the Prime Ministers' Conference because it would constitute discrimination against the Union for the sole reason of its becoming a republic." (*South Africa*, May 28.)

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, moving in the House of Assembly that the emergency regulations be approved, said he did not wish to alarm the public, but it was necessary to warn them that many trusted servants were acting as agents for organizations which did not have the interests of the country at heart. "Therefore be careful about arms and ammunition," said Mr. Erasmus. "And be careful about what you say in the presence of employees." The Government certainly had no intention of changing its policy. "So it must be expected that violence will come again. The Government must prepare for this and, for that reason, the emergency regulations cannot be repealed," added Mr. Erasmus, commenting on a statement in London by the Bishop of Johannesburg that unless the Government changed its policy there would be further violence by Africans. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 19.)

Mr. Louw, the Minister for External Affairs, just before leaving London after the Commonwealth Conference, spoke of his Government's determination to stand by the West in the struggle against Communism. He did not give the impression of having any idea that South Africa's racial policy might be a handicap to the West, in competition with Communism among the uncommitted nations, nor did he give any sign that his views have been modified by discussions during or since the Commonwealth conference. He said the South African Government had had to close down the Soviet Consulate-General in Pretoria. This they had done "not without full consideration and the fullest knowledge". They knew that the Consulate-General was in contact with the leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress. Leading members of the A.N.C. used to come there by car at 2 a.m. and leave before dawn. The Government also had reliable information on the discussions that had taken place.

There was no doubt that the Soviet Government had been busy fomenting trouble in South Africa. They had estimated that there was only one Soviet national in South Africa, and that trade with the Soviet Union was only worth £2,000-£3,000 a year; yet the Soviet Government had maintained a staff of eighteen at the Consulate-General, which was later cut by about half at the South African Government's request. Almost every week large diplomatic bags had arrived by special courier from Moscow. Before becoming Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Louw said, he had visited the Belgian Congo, and there was informed that the authorities were disturbed by propaganda traced as coming from Pretoria. Moscow radio was also constantly pouring out a stream of violent abuse against the "White dogs" in South Africa. (*The Times*, May 20.)

A correspondent subsequently pointed out that the Pan-Africanist Congress had not been formed until some years after the Soviet Consulate had been closed down.

Mr. C. R. Swart, the Governor-General, appealed to all sections of the South African population to work together in a spirit of trust, faith, and goodwill, when he opened the final week of the Union festival celebrations in Bloemfontein.

The Afrikaans-speaking people, he said, must take great care to bring other sections of the population closer to them and not push them away. They must recognize and grant these other sections their place in the future.

Mr. Swart asked the English-speaking section to give their understanding to the aspirations of the Afrikaans-speaking. "Let the English-speaking people not forget that even after the Union the Afrikaners suffered many disadvantages in matters of sentiment which govern human emotions." He thanked the English-speaking people for their great and valuable part in building up South Africa. "We declare unstintingly that we wish to walk arm-in-arm with you to our future destiny," he said.

To the Non-White populations Mr. Swart said they should "believe in our sincerity and our good intentions. We value and appreciate your great and lasting contribution to the welfare of our State," he said, pleading with them not to listen to agitators, who would lead them only to disaster, disappointment, and suffering. It was an undeniable fact that under South Africa's care and guardianship the Black peoples had multiplied by millions, had been cared for, and sheltered against many of the evils and vices of the civilized world. They had also been protected against their own innate disposition to exterminate the weaker and against inter-tribal strife and destruction.

Mr. Swart prophesied that within ten years many of the Western nations now condemning South Africa would have reason to be grateful for the existence of a country like the Union in Africa, appreciating the attitude South Africa had so consistently and tenaciously maintained through years of misunderstanding. (*The Times*, May 26.)

The Minister of Transport, Mr. Schoeman, issuing a grave warning on the future of South Africa's economy, said: "The Union today is facing the most difficult position it has had to face for the past fifty years. In overseas countries we are being slandered, vilified, misrepresented and attacked in every country in the world. The outside world demands there must be no racial discrimination in South Africa, but full equality. There is no demand for small concessions, no demand for an increase in Native wages, or for the relaxation of the pass laws or for any relaxation of influx control. The demand is for unequivocal full equality for the Non-Whites. Unless we accede to these demands the attacks on South Africa will continue. Yet if the demand is met it will mean that the White man in South Africa must commit racial suicide."

Mr. Schoeman said that in almost every country in the world there was a boycott movement against South Africa. "We are already feeling the effects of this in a small way," he said. "If these boycott movements gain momentum and get more support, South Africa can be placed in a very bad way economically," he continued. "We will have to tighten our belts. We will have to turn every penny over twice. Our economic position in the next six or seven months is an unknown factor. We do not know what is going to happen."

Mr. Schoeman was addressing the annual general meeting of the Federal Consultative Council of Railway Staff Associations.

Mr. Jim Fouche, the Minister of Defence, told a Nationalist Party function that South Africa would not be able to keep the African down because it was against our Christian faith to oppress. It was physically impossible always to control a dissatisfied Black mass; world opinion would not tolerate it and it would hamper the Union economically. "Can you imagine how prosperous our country would be if all 14 million who live here were able to maintain high standards of living because their productivity justified it?" he said.

Mr. Fouche urged all Nationalists to keep their word of giving the Black man full opportunity in life through apartheid, while at the same time protecting the future of the White man. The Minister said that never before in the history of South Africa had the White man had occasion to think more deeply than was the case today. But deep thought was not without its dangers and responsibilities. "If you ponder deeply and seriously, here is the danger that you might find yourselves on the plains of despair or you will have to follow a course of dare and do and sacrifice."

In the years gone by the White people of South Africa, whatever their language might be, had lived in the protection of their isolation. Their isolation was possible as a result of three factors: They were far removed from the turmoil of the outside world. The political isolation of Africa was possible as a result of the protection of powerful imperial powers. Our spiritual isolation was protected by the spiritual sleep of the millions of Black people who lived among us and around us.

Now circumstances had changed. Distance no longer existed. The protection of the great imperial powers had disappeared as the mist before the morning sun, Mr. Fouche said.

The *Pretoria News* (June 20) commented: "It is possible to applaud the spirit in which the Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouche, made his . . . speech . . . while at the same time feeling a certain amount of impatience with the nebulous talk that now passes for policy in Government circles . . ."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 20) said the speech was "interesting" but the trouble was that "although it was made by a Cabinet Minister it had little more meaning in terms of practical politics than an expression of opinion by a private person".

Fifty Years of Union

May 31, 1960, the fiftieth anniversary of the Act of Union was marked in South Africa and Britain in a number of different ways.

The Union Government released 250 prisoners in an amnesty in celebration of the Jubilee. On the eve of Union Day the South African Cabinet presided over by Dr. Verwoerd met for the first time ever in Bloemfontein. The National Convention which formulated the 1910 constitution was held at Bloemfontein.

Dr. Verwoerd's speech at the Festival Stadium was made at his first public appearance since he was shot seven weeks ago. His speech was in Afrikaans interspersed with passages in English. He appealed for support for a republic based on White government and co-operation with the United Kingdom and the rest of the Commonwealth. He painted a future of "one united White nation with the heritage of White South Africa solving problems totally different from problems anywhere in the world".

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, said that the future of South Africa would not be easy. Sir de Villiers, like Dr. Verwoerd, said the two White sections would have to solve the country's problems together.

While the climax of the Jubilee celebrations was taking place in Bloemfontein, in Cape Town there was a solemn procession through the streets as an act of dedication to the cause of peace and good relations. The procession, which was multi-racial, was headed by Dr. Joost de Blank, Archbishop of Cape Town, Mr. Alan Paton, the author, and others prominent in groups which oppose the Government's policies. (*South Africa*, June 4.)

A group of distinguished South Africans living in Britain issued a joint statement expressing their alarm at South Africa's "growing isolation in the international community". The signatories included Professor Kenneth Kirkwood of Oxford, Professor Meyer Fortes of Cambridge, Professor Max Gluckman of Manchester, Dan Jacobson, author, and John Cranko, choreographer.

The High Commissioner for South Africa in London gave a reception from which a number of diplomats were reported to be absent.

The Times published a South Africa supplement, commenting that "in spite of her present racial and political woes" South Africa "can have a glorious future".

"The present South African Government is condemned—and will go on being condemned—by people of good will and warm friends of South Africa, up and down the world, for two reasons. First, it has shown itself incapable of understanding its own racial problems. . . . Secondly, no government can hope to be regarded with respect so long as it arrests so many of its subjects of the highest standing in South African society and keeps them in prison without trial and without resort to their legal advisers. . . .

"To oppose a government is not to be on unfriendly terms with a people. Nor is it to be without faith in the destiny of that people. The destiny of South Africa is to work out, under the leadership of Afrikaner and Briton as a team, an equitable and an abiding balance in a multiracial society. That could be done, and, if it were, it would make the memory of apartheid an old, ugly nightmare—to be forgotten in the light of a better day."

The *New York Herald Tribune* (June 2) had an editorial headed "South Africa's Obdurate Fifty Years". It described Dr. Verwoerd as "not a man to be swayed from his convictions by events or realities". The editorial continued: "It may be observed that the growth and prosperity of the Union

in the last half century has brought benefits, most of them indirect, to the Africans themselves. But this can in no way justify the way they have been treated.

"Indeed, if the sense of common humanity or of justice has made apartheid a moral impossibility, material progress in the Union has made it a practical one. The two races are henceforth interdependent, and Dr. Verwoerd cannot escape the fact. If he persists in refusing to recognize it, it will catch up with him anyway. In that case there will be a fearful settling of accounts."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 1) commenting on the Prime Minister's speech said that he dealt largely in platitudes, seeing the future through rosy spectacles, but the middle of his speech, delivered in English, was a different matter. Here he addressed himself seriously to the business of putting across the idea of a republic. He was studiously vague, but he appealed to the English-speaking section to help in reconstructing the Union into a republic so that there would be "much rejoicing and a deep feeling of unity and sovereign nationhood". In a rather confused passage he rejected compromise as a means of bringing about a republic, but appealed for "give and take". In equally obscure phrases he suggested that a sudden change had come over the attitude of the Afrikaner, who was now ready to extend the hand of friendship, in exchange for which the English-speaking section should do the same.

"He went on to warn the country of what would happen if the republic did not come about. Political clashes would continue, he said, and co-operation on Black-White relations would remain in abeyance with perhaps fatal results to us and to generations to come. He said that without a republic, 'which we all seek', economic progress might be stifled or become more difficult. On the really important questions which the English-speaking people are asking themselves he had nothing to say. There was nothing about the referendum, nor any indication whether the republic would be sought within the Commonwealth or outside it. Apart from insisting that a republic was essential for the progress of the country Dr. Verwoerd dealt entirely in generalities, as he has always done."

"It has to be recorded with regret that Dr. Verwoerd used Union Day, 1960, not for giving the people hope of any break in his ideological onslaught, but merely as an opportunity of furthering the National Party's programme. In fact, he used the occasion to open the 1960 republican campaign."

Republican Campaign

The voters' roll on which the referendum will be taken closed on June 30.

Die Vaderland (June 14) emphasized that the referendum would be a tough struggle. The paper gave the estimates of five daily newspapers (pro- and anti-Government) of the number of votes for Nationalist Party and Opposition in the 1958 general election. It said these estimates made it clear that every republican would have to vote if the republic were to become an accomplished fact.

Mr. J. J. Fouche, the Minister of Defence, said the long constitutional struggle between those who had only one fatherland and those who had a fatherland and a motherland was almost over. A republic would create the opportunity to accelerate the implementation of our policy—something terribly necessary in the light of critical world opinion. (*Die Vaderland*, June 13.)

Dr. Steytler, the leader of the Progressive Party, said the Party would seek co-operation on the referendum with the United Party and all other recognized groups prepared to oppose the proposals of the Prime Minister. (*S.A. Star*, June 7.)

A statement by the Central Executive of the United Party, after a meeting in Johannesburg, attended by Sir de Villiers Graaff and the four provincial chairmen, said: "In view of the fact that the United Party commands the only truly nation-wide organization in the political field which is opposed to Dr. Verwoerd's republic, and that canvassing has shown that the Party has the support of the overwhelming majority of anti-republicans in every constituency throughout the country, the Executive decided that the anti-republican effort should be spearheaded in each constituency by a referendum agent representative of that majority." The provincial formations of the Party had therefore been directed to arrange for the immediate

selection of nominees for referendum agents. (*S.A. Star*, June 8.) This was taken by the political correspondent of the *Star* to mean that any co-operation between the United Party and other anti-republican groups would be informal and on a constituency level. "The United Party has, in effect, decided to 'go it alone' in fighting the Nationalist Party on the republican issue."

Die Burger (June 11) said the Government had promised not to regard a majority for the republic as a motion of confidence in itself or in its racial or its economic policy, as little as it would regard an unfavourable result for the republic as a vote of no confidence in the present régime. . . . In order to bring about the republic, and for that alone, we must and can form a republican front with people with whom we may differ sharply in other fields. We can only do this by the assurance that those differences are and will be respected before as well as after the referendum. . . .

A plea for co-operation among the anti-republicans in the referendum was made by the *Star* (June 9). "If the anti-republican leaders, to whatever political group they belong, cannot summon up the understanding to work in unison at this critical moment, they will lose the confidence and respect of all South Africans who have so far trusted them. . . . All anti-republicans must pledge themselves to give their unstinted support to the anti-republican agents, regardless of the party to which these officials are normally attached."

The *Cape Argus* (June 1) said that on the republic: "Instead of reasoned discussion, we get passionate assertion; instead of argument, bad-tempered reiteration; instead of argument, more nails in the brain and in the outcome we lose not only that which we ardently wish to attain but even that which we had."

The Nationalist Party will hold its first full Union Congress for fifteen years when it meets in Bloemfontein on August 29 and 30. The Union Congress offered an opportunity for co-ordinated action not only to M.P.s and M.P.C.s but also to local leaders of the party throughout the country and should give the final filip to the ever-rising Nationalist enthusiasm about the republic. (*Die Transvaler*, June 10.)

South Africa and the Commonwealth

Mr. Hilary Marquand (Labour), speaking in the House of Commons on July 4, drew attention to the outcome of the Prime Ministers' Conference.¹

The declaration of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers that the Commonwealth was a multi-racial association, he said, followed hard on the paragraph of their statement about the conversations they had had with Mr. Eric Louw, Foreign Minister of South Africa.

It was quite clear that the South African Government by the continued detention of British protected and United Kingdom subjects were flouting the opinion of the House and treating the British Government with contempt. The Opposition wished to protest against that attitude. The Government of South Africa had announced that within the next two weeks they would release 1,200 detainees but they would still hold 400 without charge and without trial.

The South African Government could not be ignorant of the views of other Commonwealth leaders, and yet Dr. Verwoerd had said he was convinced that if South Africa became a republic Britain, Australia, and Canada would see to it that she was retained in the Commonwealth.

Would they use their influence if there had been no change meanwhile in the philosophy and the administration of the laws of apartheid to see South Africa return? Had any pledge been given? What "convinced" Dr. Verwoerd, because that was the word he used?

The Opposition had always said they did not want to see 10 million Africans and 1,500,000 Coloured persons and 500,000 Asians deprived of such protection as citizenship of the Commonwealth could give them, and that they did not want to see South Africa expelled.

If there was no change South Africa's retention would be quite repugnant to other African members of the Commonwealth and to other African states shortly joining it.

When the matter of South West Africa came before the Security Council, Mr. Marquand said that he hoped the United Kingdom representative would vote according to principle and not according to protocol.

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

There could be no doubt that peace throughout Africa was threatened by the existence of the police state in South Africa, and the administration of the mandate in South West Africa was not an internal matter.

Mr. C. J. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, replying for the Government said: "The situation in South Africa imposed a severe strain on Commonwealth unity. The view of the British Government and Parliament had been established on a number of occasions, and other Commonwealth Governments had made plain where they stood regarding the policies of the South African Government. . . . At the meetings the Prime Ministers were conscious of the grave implications of any departure from the established principle that the Prime Ministers only discussed matters which all were ready to discuss. They were able to reach agreement on their communiqué without breaching the principle of non-interference. The continuing traditions of the Commonwealth were maintained. They did not underestimate the formidable character of the social and political problems which had to be solved in South Africa. . . .

"If the referendum was in favour of a republic, the relationship of South Africa with the Commonwealth would be a matter for the Commonwealth to decide, in accordance with any request that the Republic of South Africa might make. That was in line with established practice. It would not be proper for him to speculate what decision the Prime Ministers would take when the question was eventually put to them. It was always the collective view of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers that had to be obtained. That was the one which had always prevailed on similar issues in the past. The republican issue was a constitutional one, and would no doubt be dealt with by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers as such.

"It was conceivable that a situation might arise in which political and economic relations between one or more of its members with the rest of the Commonwealth reached a climax of friction and dispute. If so there was no precedent to guide them. A solution could only be found in the joint statesmanship and wisdom of the Prime Ministers of the day. . . ."

(*The Times*, July 5.)

Business Interests and Racial Policy

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., in a statement to members, described Sharpeville as "this deplorable event". He said: "The achievements of the past fifty years are certainly notable, but in present circumstances no thinking South African can look to the future without misgiving, and the feeling is widespread that new methods and new policies are urgently needed, if we are to build a truly united South Africa. . . .

"Last year was a particularly successful one for our Corporation, and if it were not for the difficult political situation, the way ahead would be clear for a continuation of the rapid expansion and development of recent years. The disturbances in the Union have gravely affected us in their immediate effects and we are, of course, also deeply concerned about their ultimate outcome. We have always looked to London, and to a lesser extent to the other capital markets of Europe and to America, for a substantial proportion of the finances required for the South African and Rhodesian development for which we are responsible. The recent disturbances have affected these markets to a degree which is not generally appreciated in South Africa. Not only have they caused investors to fear for the safety of their holdings, but they have evoked a wave of moral indignation against the present South African racial policy. Moreover, the referendum on the republican issue overhangs the market, which is particularly affected by the possibility that if South Africa were to become a republic it might, for one reason or another, cease to be a member of the Commonwealth. The consequences for our group are obviously serious. We think it is reasonable to expect that if conditions in the country remain quiet the share market will gradually improve but, in my opinion, it would not be prudent for us to count on being able to raise sufficient money for a considerable time from the public, either here or overseas, for our new ventures on terms that we would regard as satisfactory. We will, therefore, have to rely to a greater extent than we would normally think desirable on the internal financial resources of our group. These are, fortunately, substantial, and provided we follow a conservative policy, there need not be, for financial reasons, any serious slowing down in the tempo of our new development. It is not, however, only in regard to the inflow of capital

that the adverse effects of Sharpeville and its aftermath are felt. For many new enterprises it is essential for a group such as ours to tie up with leading companies overseas, who are able to provide the essential technical and commercial 'know-how'. In no fewer than four instances, large-scale projects which we have had under active consideration have had to be put into cold storage for the time being, because our overseas associates are not willing to proceed until the political situation in the Union is clearer.

"In spite of all these difficulties, our confidence in South Africa is unshaken and we are determined to continue to play our full part in the economic development of the country. We shall do this not only in our own direct interests, but in order to help to create that background of rising standards of living, which is essential in order to give South Africa a fair chance of dealing effectively with her social and racial problems. In the long run, however, prosperity in South Africa must depend on a general restoration of confidence. Great emphasis has rightly been placed on the need to restore law and order, and it appears at this time that this essential preliminary has been accomplished. It is, however, only a preliminary. Even a long period of quiescence will not suffice, unless, at the same time, it appears that successful steps have been taken to regain the goodwill of the African population. Of course, not all the Africans are disaffected, and many people have argued that the disturbances were due merely to agitators and intimidators. There is no doubt that agitators have been busy and that there has been serious intimidation of law-abiding Africans by the extremists. Equally, however, there can be no doubt that there is deep discontent among the African population in the urban areas. That is why the agitators have been so successful. Law and order have been restored, but only at the expense of far-reaching interference with the liberties of the population, Black and White alike. Unless we can create conditions in which agitators are ineffective, not because of draconian legislation, but because people do not want to listen to them, the future of South Africa will be a gloomy one. . . .

"Many people in South Africa are convinced that no changes in government policy or European attitudes short of complete surrender to the full demands of the extreme African nationalists would suffice to secure African goodwill. To this one can only retort that you never know till you try. Certainly South Africa's reputation overseas, and relations with the rest of the Commonwealth and the Western democracies in general would be very different, if they could be persuaded that a genuine and determined effort was being made to remove all the reasonable causes of discontent which have provided the background to the activities of extremists and agitators. The difficulty of dealing with an explosive internal situation is vastly increased if the world outside is convinced that genuine grievances exist and that no serious effort is being made to remove them. . . .

"The immediate cause of the present crisis was African protests against the pass laws, and it is clear that this legislation together with the laws governing the sale of liquor to Africans and the unsympathetic manner in which they are sometimes administered, are major causes of interracial friction. In the case of the liquor laws the necessary changes could probably be made without too much difficulty and it is satisfactory to see that the Government intend to tackle this problem, but when we come to the pass laws, the matter, as is so often the case in Africa, is far from simple. Some provisions covered by these laws are necessary for good government and are very much in the interests of the Africans themselves. It is essential, to begin with, that there should be an effective means of personal identification, and this, with a people of whom the majority are still comparatively primitive, and in the absence of the necessary statistics which are taken for granted in a fully developed country, is not an easy matter. . . .

"There are, however, certain aspects of the pass laws so intolerable to the urban Africans that everything connected with the whole system is included by them in the same condemnation. And what they resent most of all is the provision that the failure by an African to produce his pass to a policeman immediately on demand is in itself a crime punishable by a fine or imprisonment. The other features of the pass laws which do most damage to race relations flow from the pretence that permeates all the legislation dealing with the urban African that he is not a permanent resident where he lives, but merely a temporary visitor with his real home in quite a different part of the country. . . . There is a very large and increasing African population in the towns whose connexion with their

original tribal homes has almost or entirely ceased to exist. Moreover, these urban Africans are absolutely indispensable to the industrial life of the country.

"It is difficult to exaggerate the sense of frustration these features of African urban life cause, particularly amongst the growing number of intelligent and educated men who hold responsible positions. And it is these people who are the moulders of African thought and the effective leaders of their people. It seems to me that what in the first place is required, in order to improve race relations, is that White South Africa should fairly and squarely face the fact that whatever may be done to build up the economy of the reserves, so as to enable them to carry as large a population as possible (and I hope that every effort will be made to this end) there will necessarily remain millions of Africans in and around the European cities who have their permanent homes there and belong to those urban communities just as much as the Europeans themselves. Once that fact is grasped and the consequences that flow from it worked out and acted upon, we shall, I believe have gone a long way to remove the sense of grievance and frustration which lies behind the present crisis."

Standard Bank of South Africa

Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, the chairman, in his report circulated before the Annual General Meeting of the Standard Bank of South Africa said: "Generally, the current situation might be described as one of hesitation pending the solution of the elements of business uncertainty. Current internal activity in fact remains remarkably stable and has been little affected by political factors; indeed there was a steady improvement in business activity throughout last year, which was maintained in the earlier months of 1960.

"There is great scope for further development and a consequent need, as well as opportunity, for additional overseas capital and technical knowledge. The country's resources have been tapped but lightly, the skill of her population is growing and, given adequate opportunities for progressive social advancement and improved living standards, long-term prospects are encouraging.

"South Africa is facing manifest difficulties which, until they are resolved, will seriously affect her ability to attract the men and the money necessary to maintain her progress at the same rate as during the past ten years. A great deal of clear thinking is now required to decide on the right road to be taken at this critical stage. Courageous decisions and actions are called for if a serious loss of confidence is to be averted."

Chambers of Commerce

A public statement setting out the views of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in regard to some of the causes that have brought about a slowing down of the expansion of the Union's economy was made on May 20. Explaining the decision to publish the Association's views, the statement said: "The economy of the country is in jeopardy and it behoves the Association, as an organization of businessmen who are concerned about the continued prosperity of the enterprises under their control, to let its voice be heard at this time of widespread reassessment of the economic aspects of the race policies which have contributed towards the present crisis. . . .

"The continued development of secondary industry will depend first of all upon the enlargement of the market. . . .

"Export markets absorb today not much more than £100 million of manufactured goods sent out from the Union, which is under 10 per cent of the gross value of manufacturing output (the latter figure stood at £1,175 million in the year 1957-8). Thus even a very considerable increase in the volume of exports would not afford the major expansion in our market that is needed. . . . The Union should of course make every effort to expand its export trade, but it seems clear that development of exports will not provide the complete solution to the problem of developing South Africa's economic potential.

"Expansion in Union industrial output must therefore be based mainly upon enlargement of the domestic market. In the Union, an important section of the population is under-employed. Our task therefore is to develop this section of the population and expand its consuming ability. But to expand its consuming ability it is essential to increase its productive

powers. To help achieve this purpose large-scale State-aided immigration will be necessary in order to provide both skills and enterprise—skills which will assist in maintaining a suitable proportion of skilled to unskilled labour, and enterprise which will create employment and achieve expanded production of goods and services."

Referring to "Bantu Areas", the Association said: "It is in these areas that development should begin, and the Tomlinson Commission has made recommendations as to the steps necessary to improve the agricultural productivity of the Bantu areas. According to the Tomlinson Commission, these recommendations would involve the finding of some 300,000 jobs for families displaced from the land. . . .

"It is essential that the Bantu areas should be immediately developed, industrially and otherwise, as an integral part of the economy of the Union as a whole. From this it follows that persons of any race should be encouraged to conduct economic operations in the Bantu areas. The development of the Bantu areas as an integral part of the Union implies their treatment on the same basis as any other part of the Union. . . .

"Restrictions imposed upon the occupation of property for business or other economic purposes on racial grounds in any area of the Union should be progressively relaxed. Freedom to conduct economic enterprises should ultimately be available to all citizens of South Africa. The full benefits of free enterprise will be obtained only when a free market is allowed to determine where and how capital and skills should be employed. Natives should be permitted to acquire freehold title in urban Native townships. . . .

"The expansion of the market as the result of the increased prosperity of the Bantu areas will considerably increase the demand for industrial labour of all categories. . . .

"If the full benefit of this process is to be obtained, then no barriers must be placed in the way of persons of any race utilizing present skills or acquiring and employing new ones. In order to enable Non-Whites to qualify for apprenticeship for skilled trades, increased amounts should be spent on providing general and vocational educational facilities for them. Any attempt to allocate functions on a racial basis must militate against economic progress."

The Association expressed the view that collective bargaining is an essential element in the ultimate achievement of an adequate level of wages.

Its recommendations were:

- (a) That the Union should be developed as a single economic entity.
- (b) That restrictions which prevent members of any race from conducting business operations in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal.
- (c) That the work reservation provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act should be repealed.
- (d) That restrictions on the mobility of labour should be progressively relaxed.
- (e) That trade unions should with the effluxion of time and with suitable safeguards become representative of workers of all races.

Commenting on the statement, the *S.A. Star* (May 21) said: "The men who issued the statement were business leaders from the platteland and the city, Afrikaans- and English-speaking, differing in political views. . . . Chambers of Commerce from the platteland outnumbered city chambers at the three-day meeting which decided to ask for greater co-operation between the White and Non-White for eventual multi-racial trade unions, the repeal of the job reservation provisions and the relaxing of restrictions preventing members of any race from carrying on business anywhere."

Industrial Development Near Reserves

A plan for the development of industry in eight areas close to the Bantu reserves has been announced by Dr. Verwoerd. He said that the desirability of a more balanced distribution of factories and the situation in the Bantu areas would demand an actively carried out policy of border area development. He named ten ways in which the Government would assist:

- (1) Aid in the provision of basic services like power, water and transport.
- (2) Provision of housing for White workers.

(3) Higher depreciation allowances with regard to factory buildings and installations.

(4) Adding to capital depreciation costs the costs of shifting a factory to a border area.

(5) Compensating an entrepreneur up to a maximum of 75 per cent of the difference between the cost of establishing his factory in a border area and its sales value in the open market—after the entrepreneur has been operating in the new area for one year.

(6) Constructing and leasing factory buildings and the building of fully planned industrial centres.

(7) Provision of additional funds for the Industrial Development Corporation for investment on special conditions in border area industries.

(8) Maintenance of the principle of wage differentiation with regard to border areas in so far as this is justified by factors like lower productivity of labour and lower cost of living.

(9) Raising the low productivity of Bantu labour by means of trade schools in the Bantu areas.

(10) Concessions to industrialists with regard to railway tariffs. (*Die Transvaler*, June 3.)

Dagbreek en Sondagnuus (June 5) said: "This is probably the greatest conception for planned development so far attempted in the Union and positively the most drastic State action in regard to economic expansion since the adoption of the Tariff Protection Act of 1925." Much would depend on the dynamic shown by the State and private enterprise. The paper emphasized that the plan was "not merely a political chimera. It is the product of fruitful political imagination on the one hand, and of economic advisers whom no one will deny a place among the country's most capable talent in this field". The plan gave the practical foundations for separate development and at the same time it should satisfy those who emphasized the economic development of the country as a whole and increase of productivity.

Die Burger (May 23) welcomed measures to improve conditions for the urban Bantu but added that it was in the Bantu areas and not in the city that the Government's fundamental long-term solution for the problem of Black and White co-existence in South Africa lay. Confidence and faith in the development policy "can in our new circumstances only be built up, maintained and reinforced by spectacular achievement which will speak louder than the plethora of hostile words".

"A watch will have to be kept for a similar tendency as has taken place usually in older industrial countries," said *Die Vaderland* (June 6). "The workers corps tends to move nearer to the site of employment and this causes towns to arise about the industrial complexes. For us this could result in the Bantu homeland borders gradually shifting at the expense of the White areas."

Mr. Leslie Lulofs, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, says it will encourage business men to "hold their horses" instead of proceeding with plans of expansion.

"Organized industry," Mr. Lulofs stated, "agrees with decentralization of industry in principle. It is prepared to collaborate with the Government on this important question. But what I cannot understand is this announcement which forecasts a number of inducements without specifically stating what the extent of those inducements will be."

Miss Dulcie Hartwell, secretary of the Trade Union Council, said she also agreed in principle with decentralization of industry. "But we are most concerned that, as an incentive to industrialists, the Government plans to maintain the principle of wage differentiation in the border areas. This, it claims, is justified by the lower productivity and by the lower cost of living there. In urban areas most Non-Europeans do not earn a living wage. How then can even lower wages in the border areas be justified?"

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 4) commenting editorially said: ". . . We should recognize that the proposal, however misguided it may be, is a sign that the Government is at last trying seriously to put apartheid into practice. When all that has been admitted, however, the practical difficulties still have to be faced and these are so formidable that they may well be fatal.

"In the first place, the cost of these inducements, which really amount to subsidies, will be extremely high if the scheme is to come into operation. Capital is unlikely to be forthcoming from overseas, so the whole burden

of the project will fall on this country. One way or another the taxpayer will have to finance this ideological adventure."

The *Pretoria News* (June 3) commented: "In every respect it is desirable that the future industrial development should proceed without the social evils that attend large-scale migration and with the greatest possible use of the potentialities of backward or neglected areas. There are therefore good grounds for effective co-operation between Government and industry, and between political parties, in the working out of a plan for decentralization and development, with the accent on development. No opportunity should be missed of drawing South Africa's under-employed millions into the productive economy."

"Two reservations need to be made, however. One is that any attempt to give unfair advantages to border industry will have serious repercussions, not least in the field of White employment. The other is that even the successful application of this border policy will not bring about the kind of separate development upon which the Government has taken its stand. On the contrary, it will merely expand the area of 'integration' to the threshold of the reserves. . . ."

"Whatever the merits of the programme, it should not be mistaken for a solution of South Africa's racial problems nor allowed to interfere with other urgent reforms and mental adjustments."

Mr. Douglas Mitchell, the United Party's Natal leader, strongly condemned the plan saying that the net outcome of spending millions of pounds would be the installation of Natal's Whites as a White crust on a Black loaf, economically at the complete mercy of labour forces of Bantustan areas embracing about two-thirds of the province. That White crust, he said, would inevitably be destined to take the first shock of reaction in the event of a deterioration of White-Black relationships. "Natal, in fact, is to be made a guinea-pig of a fresh essay by Dr. Verwoerd to give a semblance of reality to another instalment of his 'new vision' which has already brought South Africa to the brink of economic disaster."

Mr. Owen Townley Williams, the Progressive Party's economics expert, said Dr. Verwoerd's plan was futile as a comprehensive solution to the country's development problem.

Mr. K. Firth, president of the Natal Chamber of Industries, said: "There would seem to be very little in the proposals that will allay the misgivings felt by organized industry. The setting up of industrial towns in new areas could only succeed if their establishment there was a fundamentally economic proposition. Artificial aids such as reduced railway rates, subsidized facilities such as power and housing, though they might initially attract such industries, would have to be paid for by someone in the end." (*Pretoria News*, June 4.)

The "Border Areas" mentioned by Dr. Verwoerd were Central Natal, Natal coastal area, Eastern Transvaal lowveld area, Pretoria north-western area, Ciskei area and the western areas, including the magisterial districts of Lichtenburg, Mafeking, eastern part of Vryburg, Taungs and Warren-ton, and the Transkei, Southern Natal and Eastern Orange Free State area.

Boycotts and Sanctions

The conference of independent African states, meeting in Addis Ababa, unanimously agreed that member states should close their ports to vessels flying the South African flag, boycott South African goods, and refuse facilities, including the use of their air space, to South African aircraft. The conference invited Arab states to ask petroleum companies to stop the sale of oil produced in Arab countries to South Africa. The conference invited independent African states which are members of the Commonwealth to take all possible steps to secure the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

Outside Africa, the campaign for the boycott continued. In Malaya, following the lead of the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Trade Union Congress planned to distribute nearly a million leaflets urging a boycott of South African branded goods, mostly fruits and brandy. The Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce, with great influence in the retail trade, which is almost entirely in Chinese hands, introduced a boycott. Dockers at Port Swettenham were considering the possibility of refusing to land South African cargoes. The Prime Minister hopes for an

agreed anti-apartheid programme between members of the United Nations. He met with some opposition from Malayan M.P.s who felt his crusade against South Africa had sagged. Mr. Tan Siew Sin, the Finance Minister, replying to Opposition criticism said that to suggest expelling every White South African in Malaya was silly. Some Whites in South Africa did not approve of their Government. South Africa should have a chance to show a change of heart. (*The Times*, June 25.)

The American merchant ship *African Lightning* returned to Durban from Trinidad with the same cargo with which she left two months ago, because dockers in Trinidad refused to handle goods shipped from South Africa. The cargo represents fifteen South African products, including hardboard, electric batteries, canned fruit, brassware, and grain. The value of the returned cargo amounts to hundreds of thousands of pounds, as well as the heavy loss on extra freight and dock and handling charges. Fearing similar action with other consignments, South African exporters are now withholding exports for the West Indies. The immediate effect has been to bring to a standstill an export trade valued at nearly £800,000 a year. (*The Times*, June 8.)

Commenting on the proposed refusal to allow South African planes to land at airports in Africa, Kenya's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, said there were international agreements which made it legally impossible. . . . Dr. Kiano said he appreciated the feelings of those who wanted the ban, but an international agreement did not allow for unilateral action against any specific airline. He added that the airport earned more than £17,000 from S.A.A. last year.

Dr. Kiano concluded, amid laughter: "Why, even I took a S.A.A. aircraft from Ghana after attending the All Africa People's Conference where I supported a boycott of South African goods." (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 27.)

In Britain, the Co-operative Congress approved the stand its central executive had taken on the question of the boycott of South African goods. By a majority of about two to one the congress rejected a move to reconsider the whole issue of the non-participation of most co-operative shops in the boycott in March. A resolution sponsored by two of the larger societies—Manchester and Salford, and Birkenhead—was before the congress, demanding that the movement should give full support to the appeal of the African National Congress. (*Guardian*, June 10.)

In South Africa, it was stated that manufacturers had begun exporting goods without the "Made in South Africa" label. A spokesman for the Exporters' Association said suppliers in some territories feared that by stocking and supplying South African goods they might themselves become victims of the boycott. (*The Times*, June 15.)

There were also reports of retaliatory measures by South African buyers. "Boycott Scandinavian Goods" leaflets were being circulated throughout the Union by an anonymous person or group. After listing several well-known Scandinavian products, which, it says, should be "rejected", the circular concludes: "Rather buy from friendly countries".

The Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, said, "I do not approve of trade boycotts, but it is a natural human reaction that a person who is hit is apt to hit back. The South African public has for a considerable time been turning the other cheek."

The *S.A. Sunday Times* (June 5) said that South Africa imports far more from the four Scandinavian countries than she exports to them.

These are the figures for 1958:

Value of imports: Denmark, £1,877,587; Finland, £2,056,142; Norway, £3,050,338; Sweden, £10,256,209.

Value of exports: Denmark, £496,219; Finland, £502,214; Norway, £920,049; Sweden, £1,996,466.

The Times (June 13) said buying resistance in South Africa was given as one of the main reasons by the manufacturers of Volvo cars for a decision to cut down their production programme this year by 5,000 units. Another reason is the growing competition in the United States.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 17) reported that two big South African companies had each suffered a loss of about £250,000 since the "Boycott

South Africa" move started, and one Johannesburg firm had just lost the chance of two contracts worth between £70,000 and £80,000 merely because it was South African. The contracts had been with the Sudan.

One leading Johannesburg exporter said: "All we've been told so far by the Government is that industrialists should keep out of politics."

South Africa's clothing exports to Kenya and Nyasaland have been affected by the boycott, and Mr. Ivan Phillips, chairman of the Natal Clothing Manufacturers' Association, said that the Belgian Congo market might also be lost. (*S.A. Star*, June 23.)

Mr. S. Shapiro, a grain exporter, has twice been affected by the boycott. He had £3,000 of maize on *African Lightning* which was unable to unload at Trinidad, and a £2,500 maize order placed with him by a Malayan importer has been cancelled. (*S.A. Star*, July 2.)

Broederbond Control

Key jobs in the South African Broadcasting Corporation have been given to leading members of the Broederbond, according to the *S.A. Sunday Times* (May 22) which stated: "The Broederbond's tightening grip on the S.A.B.C. is reflected in the blatant pro-republican and pro-apartheid broadcasts of recent weeks, plus the slanted news services. The Broederbond's effective control is exercised through two leading Broeders who have been given key posts controlling the S.A.B.C. They are Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who was one of the 'Twelve Apostles' of the Broederbond. . . . Dr. P. J. Meyer, a powerful figure in the Broederbond, is chairman of the Board of Governors.

"A third person in a key job is Mr. J. J. Kruger, former editor of *Die Transvaler*, the Nationalist newspaper. He has been given the post of 'cultural officer' for the S.A.B.C. It is not known for certain whether Mr. Kruger is a Broeder, but his past record makes it clear that he would not be out of sympathy with Broederbond aims.

"The Broederbond's technique is to enmesh the whole administration in its octopus-like grip. This was explicitly stated by Dr. Verwoerd (at the time one of the 'Twelve Apostles') at a secret Broederbond meeting in Bloemfontein on December 13, 1943. Dr. Verwoerd then said: 'The Afrikaner Broederbond must gain control of everything it can lay its hands on in every walk of life in South Africa. Members must help each other to gain promotion in the Civil Service or any other field of activity in which they work with a view to working themselves into important administrative positions.'

"The Bond, which operates in the strictest secrecy, is intensifying its activities as the republican referendum approaches. A secret directive was sent to all members last month instructing them to step up the republican drive."

A radio feature "The South African Scene" is described as a blatantly pro-Government news commentary by Mr. Kruger. According to the Corporation these controversial broadcasts are justified because the times are abnormal, and therefore the S.A.B.C. feels, as it did in World War II, that a duty to support authority transcends the confines of party politics.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (May 27) commented: "To pretend that the technical state of emergency (which applies only to parts of the country) is comparable with the actual state of hostilities which existed in 1939-45 is ridiculous. In any event what has all this got to do with Mr. Kruger's broadcasts? He was snatched away from the editorial chair of *Die Transvaler* to be appointed cultural adviser to the Corporation. What is the connexion between culture and the state of emergency? The fact is that his 'South African Scene' has been about as cultural as his former duties were."

"Mr. Kruger has spoken against the idea of consultation, in defence of apartheid, and in favour of republicanism. Are these not plainly party political matters? How do 'abnormal times' excuse propaganda for a republic? The anger which the talks have aroused among large sections of the radio-listening public is an indication of how little Mr. Kruger has been able to 'transcend the confines of party politics'."

Commenting on a later broadcast, the *Rand Daily Mail* (June 21) said: "The controversial broadcast by a 'White rule' propagandist over the commercial radio transmission was tactless and damaging. It amounted to an attack on the leaders of the new independent states of Africa. The author took as his theme the argument that these leaders were antagonistic

towards the Union, simply because it was governed by White people. The moral of the broadcast was that the new African nations were determined to destroy the Union to satisfy some psychological need. . . .

"The only conclusion the objective listener can come to is that we have declared a cold war on the rest of Africa and that it is useless to try to come to terms, let alone make friends, with the new African leaders. This may not, in fact, be Government policy, but it was certainly the impression given by (the) broadcast, which was both patronizing and arrogant. . . ."

Detainees and Refugees

Protests against continued detention without trial continued. On June 28 the Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, announced that the Government would bring the state of emergency to a gradual end. Mr. Erasmus also said that 1,200 of the 1,600 people detained under the emergency regulations would be released during the next fortnight. Investigations concerning the remaining 400 had not been completed. (*Daily Telegraph*, June 29.)

Twenty children between the ages of 5 and 18 demonstrated on the City Hall steps against their parents' detention. While a small deputation of older ones was interviewing the mayor, the rest were removed in police cars and vans but released after half an hour's questioning. The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. Alec Gorshel, protested. The Police Commissioner said the children were "simply removed to be handed over to their parents, guardians or relatives. They advertised that they were starving and it is the duty of the police to take care of people in want." (*Guardian*, May 16.) Mr. Erasmus told the House of Assembly that their presence caused a crowd to gather and that there was a danger of disorder. The children were therefore removed to the Marshall Square police station, where they were questioned and then handed over to their parents or other adults. They were not arrested. Strong action would be taken against those who organized this demonstration. (*The Times*, May 17.)

Miss Hannah Stanton, a missionary and a British subject, who was amongst those detained made an application to the Supreme Court for her unconditional release from detention. This was refused. She was subsequently released and deported to Britain.

Miss Stanton, addressing the annual conference of the National Women Citizens' Association in London, said: "The police are not people one looks upon as a help in any way. They are there to preserve order and their attitude to the African and Non-European people is very brutal, callous and cruel." In prison, she went on, there was good treatment of the White people and inferior treatment of the Non-Europeans. Similarly, the Africans were given worse sanitary arrangements. To the prison staff, Africans were barely human. Miss Stanton said she thought conditions in South Africa might change. The international feeling which had been expressed during these past few months would have done a tremendous amount of good. (*The Times*, May 27.)

Describing the hunger strike, Miss Stanton said the women who were transferred from Johannesburg to Pretoria gaol went on a hunger strike as the only possible protest they could make against continued detention. In six cases both husband and wife were detained, leaving their children parentless. "I joined in the hunger strike for two days as a token of solidarity with their protest," Miss Stanton said. "I have spent eight days with these gallant women fasting round me. They broke their fast on Friday night for medical reasons, but their spirit was undaunted."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (May 30) reported that amongst detainees' families the hardest hit financially were the Africans. In Pretoria, a system of "adopting" families had been organized. Of the thirty-four families of African detainees, fifteen had been "adopted" by European families, which meant that their rent is paid and a basic food allowance provided. The plight of the African families in Johannesburg was far worse. Efforts are being made to establish the "adoption" system, but so far the families have had to eke out an existence as best they can. In almost every case the sole source of income was cut off with the arrest of the husband. They have the added difficulty of finding fares for the twice-weekly trip to Pretoria Central Prison: detainees are allowed two half-hour visits a week.

Amongst the 154 detainees released on Union Day was Father Mark Nye of the Anglican Church Mission in Pretoria. The Vicar-General in Pretoria said that Father Nye would resume his mission work, but might be restricted by the terms of his release. (*Pretoria News*, May 31.)

In Natal the three judges of the Supreme Court—the Judge President (Mr. Justice Broome), Mr. Justice Milne and Mr. Acting Justice Burne—suspended the sentences imposed upon forty-three detainees for refusing to work in prison in terms of the prison regulations. The effect of the judgement is that if they now perform prison labour when lawfully told to do so, their sentences will not be imposed. Mr. Justice said the accused were charged with contravening the prison regulations by refusing to work. Each pleaded guilty and was found guilty. Two were sentenced to solitary confinement and spare diet, and the other forty-one were sentenced to whippings of five strokes each. The reviewing judge in Durban, Mr. Justice Caney, who reviewed the prison proceedings, referred the matter to the full court. Mr. R. C. C. Feetham appeared for the men at the request of the court. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 28.)

Stanley Uys, writing in the *S.A. Sunday Times* (June 19), said that Africans who were not political detainees were mysteriously disappearing. It is believed that they are being sent to labour camps or similar institutions controlled by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The authorities have refused to disclose any information about the detained men, but reliable sources in Cape Town said that the detainees were being brought before magistrates and sent secretly to unknown destinations.

The detainees are not tried at these secret "courts". The magistrates simply decide whether at the time of their arrest they were not in possession of a reference book; were within an urban area in which, in terms of any law, they were not entitled to be; or had no fixed place of employment and no sufficient honest means of livelihood. The detainees are not allowed legal representation. The procedure is authorized in terms of Section 4 of the Emergency Regulations, which empower the authorities to send these detainees "to an institution designated by the Commissioner of Prisons".

Sharpeville Inquiry

Mr. Justice Wessels was appointed to inquire into the shootings at Sharpeville on March 21. He heard evidence from Africans who were among those wounded, from police constables and officers, and received a memorandum from the Bishop of Johannesburg. He commented that his job would have been "very difficult" if it had not been for the Bishop's help.

Four Africans were called as witnesses by counsel representing the Bishop. Moses Shabungu, cross-examined by the Attorney-General of the Free State, Mr. P. S. Claassen, Q.C., said his impression was "that we were just waiting for the Commandant of Police to address us". He did not see any stones thrown, he did not see anything that might have caused the police to shoot.

Benjamin Marou told the inquiry that he ran sixty or seventy yards after the firing before being struck in the elbow. As he grabbed at the wound, another bullet hit him in the leg. He ran another sixty yards to his house.

Abraham Kaole, who was shot in the shoulder, said people scattered when the shooting started. Just as he was turning a bullet hit him. He also said he saw no stone throwing, and that he did not expect the police to fire. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 11.)

Captain Jan van der Berg, who is in charge of police investigations into the shooting, gave details of the number of shots fired. He said that two policemen each fired fifty rounds from a sten-gun. A total of 743 rounds were fired altogether. Of this, 362 rounds were fired from sten-guns, 251 from rifles, 128 from .38 service revolvers, and two from .25 automatics. According to police records 69 people were killed and 178 were wounded. Twelve constables were hit by stones. Seven were not wounded and the wounds of the remaining five were not serious. Captain van der Berg said that not one of the officers had fired. One Head Constable fired, and a few sergeants fired. Captain van der Berg said he had tried without success to find out who fired first.

An allegation was made by an African witness that police threw stones into the grounds of Sharpeville police station, after the shooting. Questioned by Mr. P. S. Claassen, Q.C., Attorney-General of the Free State, he said about three or four White policemen collected the stones. A man in front would kick a stone backwards, and the man behind him would

pick it up and throw it into the yard. He saw about three stones being thrown in this way. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 25.)

The Bishop of Johannesburg's memorandum was presented to the court by Mr. S. Kentridge who said that the fact that neither Colonel Pienaar nor any other officer gave an order to fire was *prima facie* evidence that there was no need to fire. This view was supported by the reaction of the officers immediately after the firing had started. They shouted to the men to stop firing. This spontaneous reaction refuted the suggestion that it was necessary for the police to fire in self-defence.

The suggestion that an unarmed crowd would attack a line of policemen armed with sten-guns, rifles and revolvers and supported by four Saracens with Browning machine-guns was not only improbable but fantastic. That no dead or wounded were found against the fence, next to the fence or in the gateway, also showed clearly that there was no attack. Furthermore, Mr. Kentridge continued, the overwhelming majority of the killed and wounded were shot from the back, some from the side and a handful from the front.

Mr. P. S. Claassen, Q.C., replying to Mr. S. Kentridge, said it was strange that Mr. Kentridge and the persons he represented had not tried to determine what had happened before the disturbances. There was no doubt that the P.A.C. organized the demonstrations.

Several police witnesses, some of them senior officers, had said in evidence that the crowd at the police station was hostile. The location superintendent, Mr. Labuschagne, had said that he could go through the crowd without difficulty and that he had chatted and greeted the Africans there in a friendly manner before climbing over the fence. But the position changed at the time of the shooting. Other evidence showed that the crowd was angry and hostile. One leader had shouted: "If you don't arrest us now we will destroy the police station."

Mr. Claassen questioned the evidence of pictures taken by the *Drum* photographer. He said: "I do not suggest that Mr. Berry deliberately gave false evidence. But he is associated with a newspaper which is mainly concerned with the Bantu—and this might have influenced him." Commenting on Mr. Kentridge's point that the fact that no officers and only a few head constables and sergeants had fired was proof that firing was unnecessary, Mr. Claassen said: "It is an argument on the other side and one that must be weighed. But it stands to reason that an officer would wait longer to see that the firing was really necessary. This was also suggested, because immediately the firing began, they tried to stop it. I don't think this can be taken to mean that the firing was not necessary." (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 16 and 17.)

Positions of the Churches

Senior members of the various Christian churches continue to be seriously concerned about South African developments.

Professor A. M. Geyser, professor of New Testament Theology, in an essay in the *Hervormde Kerk*'s quarterly magazine replied to a book by Professor A. B. du Preez, professor of Dogma at Pretoria University, entitled *Autochthonous Development to Religion*. Dr. Geyser said: "It is no secret that the three Afrikaans churches do not allow Non-Whites to attend their services." This, he claimed, was "indefensible" from every Biblical and theological point of view, regardless of historical circumstances. There were no scriptural grounds for practising race separation in the Church. On the contrary, the Scriptures insist on the visible unity of the Church, notwithstanding differences between races. In obedience to Christ, the Church must stand for the unity of all believers. . . . It did not have the right to close its doors to a fellow believer of a different skin colour. He said the sole distinction recognized in the Scriptures is between believer and heathen. There could be no discrimination between Christians, and the Church should transcend the barriers of social, political, ethnic and cultural groupings.

Professor Geyser warned the Dutch Reformed Church against following the same pattern of racial discrimination as the Nazi-controlled German national church. He rejected the concept of an ethnic church based on one language, one culture and one nation. (*S.A. Sunday Times*, May 29.)

Dr. William A. Landman, general secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, told British television: "We humbly confess

many of our members are not above racial prejudice." He told a B.B.C. interviewer his church had repeatedly asked its members during the last ten years not to harbour prejudice. When the interviewer, Mr. Donald Milner, asked him why the Dutch Reformed Church had separate churches for different races, Dr. Landman said these had started because Non-Whites had found it "extremely difficult to follow the sermons". The Church had then reluctantly allowed separate services. He added that Non-White church members still sent representatives to the Church synods. The experiment of providing separate churches for different linguistic groups was a success. Separate churches did not conflict with the overall unity of Christians. "We believe in a spiritual unity," Dr. Landman said. (*Pretoria News*, May 19.)

The Dutch Reformed Church *Monthly Newsletter* (May 1960) stated that other churches in South Africa were perturbed about Dr. Joost de Blank's statement and were unlikely to boycott the Dutch Reformed Churches.¹

The *Newsletter* reported a statement by the Rev. Harold Munro, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church: "We are aware of the great need for a common mind among the churches of South Africa, and the present lack of it, but we know it can only be achieved by ever closer consultation and fellowship. Dr. Carson Blake, a senior official of the World Council of Churches, visiting South Africa as recently as December 1959, emphasized that one of the greatest needs for South African Christianity was closer and more frequent consultation between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking churches. The above view . . . suggests that the World Council is unlikely to yield so far to hysteria as to expel our brethren in the Dutch Reformed Churches."

Lord Wemyss, Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, told the Assembly in Edinburgh that the apartheid policy of South Africa often seemed more like repression of one side than equal development of both. The philosophic basis is too little understood and too often overlooked. There are too many opportunities for injustice, and too few for sympathy and kindness. Recent events in South Africa seemed to many to be the result of a deliberate policy—which excluded most of the country's people from any responsibility in it and rejected any thought of their eventual support or friendship. "We must avoid breaking such bridges as there were, including those between the Churches of Scotland and South Africa, even if the bridges had to be closed to traffic for a time." (*Guardian*, May 25.)

From Capetown it was announced on June 5 that Canon Alpheus Hamilton Zulu, a member of the Zulu Royal House, who returned to South Africa last month after a seven-month tour abroad will be consecrated Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of St. John's (the native reserve of Transkei) and will be the first African Bishop in the Anglican Church Province of South Africa, which covers the Union, South West Africa and Portuguese East Africa. After his consecration in St. John's he will assist Bishop Leo Schuster at the diocesan headquarters at Umtata. In Bishop Schuster's absence Canon Zulu will have complete control of the running of the diocese and both White and Black clergy will serve under him. In London, Bishop Reeves of Johannesburg welcomed Canon Zulu's appointment.

Bishop Reeves announced that he and his family would return to Johannesburg in September as arranged. The South African Minister of the Interior, Mr. Tom Naude, said that the Government would not decide on the position of Mr. Reeves until his return. The immigration laws did not provide for the declaration of a person as a prohibited immigrant while he was out of the country. The local nationalist Sunday newspaper, *Dagbreek en Sondagnuis*, which is closely identified with Dr. Verwoerd, said that Bishop Reeves is "unlikely again to enjoy South Africa's hospitality". He must expect, says the paper, to have a deportation order served on him should he carry out his intention to return to the Union in September. (*Guardian*, June 27.)

The Times Supplement on South Africa (May 31) quoted the 1951 population census which included the following membership figures for the main denominations divided according to racial groups:

¹DIGEST VII, 6.

Denomination	White	Coloured	African
Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk ..	1,107,482	291,087	297,382
Gereformeerde Kerk ..	112,233	24,115	8,019
Nederduits Hervormde Kerk ..	182,988	9,937	20,889
Anglican Churches ..	416,472	229,459	597,647
Presbyterian ..	100,739	3,962	172,415
Congregational ..	13,915	112,335	121,053
Methodist ..	219,021	101,351	1,041,656
Lutheran ..	26,262	57,539	415,548
Roman Catholic ..	141,330	73,156	462,130
Jewish ..	108,497	—	71
Islam ..	200	63,208	4,626
Separatist African Churches ..	—	—	1,593,939

The Times commented: "It will be seen from the table that in all the Non-Afrikaans Christian churches the Non-White membership is far greater than the White. In most of these churches, although there is a natural tendency for congregations to be either White, Coloured or African, because they are in areas inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of one racial group, there is no official and organized segregation. Although in most of them it is the Whites who provide the greater part of the church funds, their investment in souls, if the metaphor may be reverently used, is far greater among the Non-White folk, and their concern about the effect of official race policies on Non-White Christians and potential Christians is correspondingly more urgent. There is obviously a great interest among Africans in the Christian religion, as the denominational figures clearly indicate, although the 2,855,766 who gave their religion as 'heathen' in the census were just about one-third of the 1951 census total of 8,560,083.

"One of the most interesting figures is the 1,593,939 for separatist African churches, of which there are estimated to be at least 2,000. Some of these are well organized, with adequate buildings and fixed establishments, ranging to the opposite extreme of tiny splinter congregations consisting of a pastor and his family and a few friends."

Dr. Eugene Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church of America who had talks with leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church in December 1959, has said in New York that the theologians he met agreed that racial discrimination was contrary to the Scriptures, that there was no Biblical ground for racial prejudice, and that Government policy was dangerous. But they feared that, if they spoke out the European way of life would be overwhelmed if political power was given to a Black majority; congregations would be divided and weakened if any stand was taken against the Government; forthright criticisms might give ecclesiastical advantage to those outside their church council; the church would be led away from its true vocation and duty if it meddled in politics.

Dr. Blake mentioned, amongst other D.R.C. leaders, Rev. A. J. van der Merwe, Moderator of the Cape Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk; Rev. W. A. Landman, scribe of the Cape Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, and Rev. C. B. Brink, former Moderator of the Nederduits Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk in the Transvaal.

The *S.A. Sunday Times* (July 3) said if their viewpoint has altered, it would signify a decisive shift in D.R.C. thinking. Mr. Brink, for instance, is a leading Broederbonder and has traditionally upheld the view that apartheid and the Bible can be reconciled.

African Representation Ends

African representation in Parliament officially ended on June 30 when the Act abolishing three (White) representatives of Africans in the House of Assembly and four in the Senate became effective. (*The Times*, July 1.)

Senator and Mrs. Ballinger, who have both sat in the Senate and the Assembly for many years as African representatives, said they did not intend retiring from active politics and they would continue to help the African cause. Mrs. Ballinger said she would also oppose the establishment of a republic. She said: "I am opposed to a republic either inside or outside the Commonwealth. This is a most inappropriate time to force an issue which has such dividing power. . . . It is unpardonable to suggest that a decision on an issue like this should be confined to a White electorate alone." (*S.A. Sunday Times*, May 29.)

Schools Advisory Council Proposed

Legislation to establish an educational council with power to override provincial education departments was attacked by Mr. G. Randell (United Party) in the Cape Provincial Council. Mr. Randell said the proposed legislation was sinister because of ulterior motives, and it struck at the very heart of the provincial system. He hoped its implications would be brought home to all the parents of school-going children in the Cape. Mr. Randell moved that the Administrator (Mr. J. N. Malan) be urged to request the Government not to proceed with the Bill. He said that it was inconsistent that anyone who supported the provincial system could support the Bill. The Cape could be proud of its Education Department and legislation, which had stood the test of time. There was no justification for Parliament to interfere in this system.

Mr. Randell asked Government members to take courage and oppose the Bill. They could do so and still remain loyal to party policy. A measure such as this would strike at the very system of local government. It was a complete negation of autonomy and the democratic principles and powers of provincial government. If the Government members realized this—and he would be astonished if they failed to do so—they must reject the Bill. Never at any stage had the Cape Education Department been better staffed and better run than at present. The proposed Council might constitute nine Transvaal members and one each from Natal and the Cape. "Do we want that sort of body telling us how we should run our own schools?" Mr. Randell asked.

Mrs. Catherine Taylor (United Party, Wynberg) said she understood that there had been a minimum of consultation between the Minister and the Provinces on the Bill and there had been no prior approval of the Bill as it now stood. Had the heads of the faculties of education of the universities been consulted? (*South Africa*, June 25.)

Tribal Colleges Criticized

Sir Julian Huxley, the eminent scientist and philosopher, opening the annual congress of the National Union of South African Students at the University of Cape Town, said the aim of the Government in establishing separate "tribal colleges" appeared to an outsider to be to produce second-class citizens through second-class education. He had been surprised to learn that students of the "tribal" colleges could not join Nusas, and that Nusas representatives were not allowed to enter the colleges to approach students there.

Sir Julian, dealing with education generally, said it could and should make the growing human being aware of the duty and privilege of cooperating with the rest of the human species in creating a better world and higher values. (*Pretoria News*, July 5.)

African Education

The South African Institute of Race Relations reported that official statistics on African education in the Union were woefully incomplete, and may be several years out of date before they are made available in official publications. But since it was important to know the formal educational attainments of the African population, the Institute's Research Officer had examined the available information, making estimates where official figures were unknown. She has concluded that the numbers of Africans at present holding the educational qualifications shown were roughly as follows:

Qualification	Total No.	Aged 18 and over	Aged 21 and over
Standard VI	284,009	255,800	199,050
Junior Certificate or equivalent*	62,033	60,611	50,776
Matriculation or equivalent*	13,786	13,786	11,795

*Includes comparable teaching qualifications.

This year 52 per cent of African children in the 7-16 age group are attending school. (*Race Relations News*, May 1960.)

Examples of Apartheid

It is the policy of the Johannesburg City Council to ban all Non-Whites from collecting for charity in White areas generally; there are,

however, certain "points"—eleven in all—in which Non-White collectors may carry collection boxes with special permission. These points are all near, or in, areas where Non-Whites queue for transport. Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell, a member of the Health Committee, said yesterday: "I have always opposed the policy of preventing or restricting Non-White people from collecting for charity in the White area. I do not see how Non-Whites are expected to collect sufficient for charity in their own areas. After all Whites do not have to put money in the boxes if they don't want to." (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 2.)

The International Commissioner for Scouts in South Africa, Major G. Mark Hussey, commenting on the fact that only Whites may belong to the Boy Scouts proper in South Africa, said the system was suggested by Lord Baden-Powell himself. "The founder of our movement foresaw the problems in this country. The system was not introduced because of racial discrimination but because of differences of culture, education and opportunity among others." (*S.A. Sunday Times*, June 5.)

The Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport pointed out in a letter to the International Olympic Committee at Lausanne that South Africa's present selection system which inevitably produced an All-White team, is a breach of the first article of the Olympic Charter which provides that there shall be no discrimination—racial, religious, or political—attached to participation in the Games. The letter claims that in at least three cases Non-Whites who hold national records have not even been invited to take part in the trial. These athletes are Johnny Geldut and Precious Mackenzie, both coloured weight-lifters who are said to have excelled performances by South African White athletes; and Didieng Makoena, an African sprinter who has proved himself capable of Olympic qualifying times. (*Guardian*, June 6.)

Troubles in Pondoland

First reports of disturbances in Pondoland came at the end of May when, after tribal clashes, three Africans were killed and several injured.

The trouble started when parties of Africans who are opposed to the policies of the territorial authority attacked other tribesmen. Huts were burnt and several Africans, including one territorial councillor, were injured by marauding parties armed with assegais and some with firearms. One armed party resisted when the police tried to round them up, and the police opened fire. These outbreaks were followed by more widespread disturbances which were tackled by strong forces of armed police, assisted by military helicopters and spotter aircraft, Saracen armoured cars, and radio vans. Many arrests are known to have been made, but the police refuse to disclose any numbers and apparently tried to minimize the seriousness of the situation. (*The Times*, May 26 and June 8.)

According to a statement issued on June 8 by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, police who intervened in tribal fighting in Pondoland, part of Transkei, on the Indian Ocean seaboard, were compelled to fire in self-defence and killed six tribesmen. Twenty-one others were arrested and firearms and assegais were confiscated. (*Guardian*, June 9.)

Nineteen Africans were subsequently sentenced for their part in the Pondoland fighting. Seventeen were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and a flogging of six strokes and two were sentenced to twenty-one months with compulsory hard labour. (*The Times*, June 15.)

The *S.A. Sunday Times* (June 26) reported the appointment of Mr. Hans Abraham, former Nationalist M.P., as Commissioner-General of the Transkeian territories where tribesmen are in revolt against Paramount Chief Botha Sigeau, who is Chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority, who they say has disregarded tribal customs. One of the main grievances of the rebels is that they were never consulted by him regarding Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan policy.

The Government have appointed an administrative commission to make a wide inquiry into the causes of the recent riots. Its terms of reference, in general, are to inquire into: the causes of the recent disturbances in the districts of Lusikisiki, Bizana and Flagstaff in Eastern Pondoland, with special reference to the observance of Pondo law and custom in connexion with: the establishment of tribal authorities; the fixing of boundaries of such tribal authorities; the appointment of heads

and councillors to such tribal authorities; the proper functioning of tribal authorities in the area; and, generally to inquire into such other matters as appear to be necessary.

The commission will go into the causes of the unrest and make recommendations on the steps to be taken to restore peace, order, and good government to the area. (*S.A. Star*, June 28.)

Report to International Jurists

Mr. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., M.P., who went to South Africa as an observer on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, gave an interim report of his conclusions after an eleven-day visit.

Mr. Jones said his purpose was to inquire into the state of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Union. Explaining that it would be inappropriate for him to comment on the Sharpeville Inquiry until the report of Mr. Justice Wessels had been issued, Mr. Jones said: "It is regrettable that the South African Government has not exercised similar restraint. Mr. Louw and Mr. Erasmus, the Minister of Justice, have both made public statements expressing opinions on the main issues the inquiry judge must decide. The Government's Information Office in New York has issued a statement that 'the disturbances at Sharpeville were the result of a planned demonstration by some 20,000 Bantu in which demonstrators made a deliberate attack on a police station with assorted weapons, including firearms'." Every allegation of fact made in this statement was being energetically challenged by the able counsel appearing for the victims at the inquiry. Were these ordinary criminal proceedings, such comments (and other similar comments) have been made publicly by leading members of the Government) would constitute a flagrant contempt of court.

Mr. Jones also pointed out that charges of public violence were being brought against members of the crowd at Sharpeville while the court of inquiry was still sitting. He asked the Attorney-General, Mr. Claassen, and also Dr. Greef, of the Ministry of Justice, whether it was proper for the Government to lay charges alleging public violence against members of the crowd before Mr. Justice Wessels had made his report and determined the important issue whether the crowd had been peaceful or violent. Dr. Greef admitted that the circumstances might give "some slight cause for misgivings". Both he and the Attorney-General thought that probably none of the public violence cases would be heard before Mr. Justice Wessels reported. The Attorney-General did not think these cases impinged directly on the terms of reference of the Sharpeville Inquiry. Mr. Jones, however, obtained a copy of the summonses against the fifty Africans concerned and charges 11–18 are based in terms on the police version of the Sharpeville incidents. He commented: "Here again there seems to be a flagrant contempt of the inquiry judge."

Mr. Jones described a conversation about the emergency with the Minister of Justice:

"I asked Dr. Greef when the emergency was likely to be ended. He said that twenty-seven of the ringleaders had 'escaped the net' and that twenty of them were in the High Commission Territories, fourteen in Swaziland and six in Basutoland and Bechuanaland. The others had disappeared into thin air. 'Until the British authorities deliver them to us, we are in a position of stalemate,' Dr. Greef told me. I said that it was manifest that no British Government would be a party to the handing over of political refugees. Dr. Greef said that even if the stalemate continued this did not mean that the emergency would go on indefinitely. I have since had a letter from Dr. Greef in which he states: I now wish to place on record the following three further reasons advanced by the Honourable the Minister of Justice in the House of Assembly for the continuation of the state of emergency:

- (a) The 26th day of June is known and annually observed by members of the congress movement as the so-called 'Freedom day'. It is considered unwise to lift the state of emergency prior to that date and so soon after the recent disturbances.
- (b) The interrogation of a number of persons who have been arrested and are being detained in terms of the Emergency Regulations had not yet been completed.
- (c) In terms of the Emergency Regulations the main urban areas are at present being cleared of Bantu idlers who during the disturbances proved to be the shock troops of the inciters. . . .

"The original emergency regulations containing twenty-six sections are well known. On May 17, 1960, the Governor-General made a further proclamation in which three further very important regulations were added. The most disturbing is the section which declares that the Courts cannot entertain any application arising out of the detention of any individual. Thus *habeas corpus* does not exist for detainees (who most need its protection) nor can there now be any application to the Courts such as was made in the case of Miss Hannah Stanton."

In these circumstances a legal adviser can be of little assistance except to hear the complaints of the detainee against the manner and circumstances of his detention, upon which he might be instructed to make representations to the appropriate authorities. But even this modest protection has been removed. The new Proclamation states that "no person, who has been arrested and is being detained under Regulation 4 or 19, shall, without the consent of the Minister or person acting under his authority, be allowed to consult with a legal adviser in connexion with any matter relating to the arrest and detention of such a person". I asked the Ministry of Justice for an explanation of this infringement upon the rights of detainees. I was told that certain defending lawyers would be likely to tell their clients not to answer any questions during interrogation.

Concluding his report, Mr. Jones said that members of the legal profession were understandably apprehensive about the intentions of Government in introducing legislation under which there will be established a body to be known as the Advocates' Admission Board which would consist of a chairman, who would be the Chief Justice of South Africa, two practising barristers appointed by the Minister from persons nominated by the Bar Council, two professors of law (again appointed by the Minister) from a list of nominees made by the University Law Faculties, and the Secretary for Justice or his nominee. This Board is to have the power "to make rules in regard to the admission to practice, suspension and removal from practice" of barristers.

Mr. Erasmus, the Minister of Justice, stated in the Senate on April 25, 1960, that "in South Africa, lawyers came too easily into the position where they could act as lawyers under the protection of 'Officers of the Court'." He added that he had instructed his Department to inquire into and to make recommendations as to how the admission of lawyers could be undertaken under stricter control than the Law Societies applied today and how the platteland lawyer could come into his own again. The Selection Board could possibly also act in regard to a recommendation for removing lawyers from the roll. The definition of who was a "suitable or proper" person to become a lawyer, as was required by law, would have to be more strictly interpreted.

Mr. Jones also referred to the freedom of the Press. "Under proposed legislation this freedom is under very great peril. The Bill, which is quaintly entitled 'Publications and Entertainments Bill' is in fact a far-reaching measure of censorship on all forms of reading matter and visual entertainment.

"The Bill, which has now gone to a Select Committee of Parliament, provides that nobody shall publish 'any undesirable newspaper'—Clause 6 (1). A newspaper or even part of it is undesirable if it:

- (a) prejudicially affects the safety of the State;
- (b) can have the effect of—disturbing the peace or good order; prejudicing the general welfare; . . . bringing any section of the inhabitants of the Union into ridicule or contempt; harming relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Union;

"To crown it all, a newspaper is undesirable if it 'is otherwise on any ground objectionable'—Clause 6 (2) (d).

"No newspaper is required to submit anything for approval, but any contravention of the Act would constitute an offence. In the case of a first conviction the penalty is a fine not exceeding £100 or three months' imprisonment, or both; in the case of a second or subsequent conviction, a fine of not less than £50 and not more than £200 or not less than three months' imprisonment up to a maximum of twelve months or both. The Court, convicting any person of an offence under the Act, may declare the newspaper article to be forfeited to the State.

"There are also wide powers granted to people under the authority of a Publications Board to enter upon a publisher's premises and to seize

anything which might constitute an offence under the Act. This Board is to be set up mainly to control publications of books and periodicals as well as the exhibition of films. Every person who has anything to do with the production of books or periodicals or films must seek the approval of the Board before publishing.

"The Board shall not approve any book or any periodical or film which in its opinion is 'indecent, obscene, or on any ground objectionable'—Clause 4 (2)."

South West Africa

Implications of a Republic

DR. D. L. SMIT, a United Party M.P. and leading member of General Smuts's delegation to the United Nations in 1946 which refused to place South West Africa under Trusteeship, has said that the establishment of a republic in South Africa will mean the loss of the mandate.

Recalling the early discussions at the United Nations Dr. Smit said the United Nations agreed to endorse the mandate conferred by the League of Nations—and in the exact terms laid down by the League. Those terms state that "a mandate should be conferred upon His Britannic Majesty, to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa, to administer the territory known as South West Africa".

Dr. Smit argued that, if a republic is established, there will be no "Government of the Union of South Africa", in which case the mandate would revert to Britain or be taken over by the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. He added: "The mandate was granted to the British monarch, with the Union Government as his sub-agent. There can be no doubt that any change in our status which excludes the Queen will place our authority to administer the territory in jeopardy. In view of the persistent attempts to place the territory under United Nations trusteeship, the danger of our losing our position as the mandatory power is self-evident. The loss of South West Africa would be a serious blow to our economy, to our prestige, and to our safety in time of war." (S.A. *Sunday Times*, July 3.)

WEST AFRICA

Angola

Arrests Continue

DR. AGOSTINHO NETO, the Angolan poet, is amongst those reported to have been arrested. He has already suffered two years in gaol in Portugal, between 1954–6, when he was arrested with other Angolan students studying in Portugal. The reports say that Dr. Neto was arrested on June 8 by the Director of P.I.D.E., the Portuguese secret police in Angola. He is reported to have been severely beaten up.

In all, fifty-two assimilados were reported to have been arrested at the beginning of June. There is no indication yet of the charges made against them. Presumably they are suspected of promoting Angolan nationalism. Since the non-assimilados have none of the normal civic rights, it is not known how many of them have also been arrested. In the course of last year some two hundred Europeans, assimilados, and Africans were arrested, and fifty-seven have been committed before a secret military court in Luanda, the capital. (Guardian, July 5.)

Cameroons, British

Trusteeship Province

THE trust territory of Northern Cameroons is to be constituted into a separate province in Northern Nigeria to be known as the "Trusteeship Province", as from July 7. The new province will enjoy the same status as other provinces in Northern Nigeria until its administration is taken over

by the British Government when Nigeria attains independence on October 1. If, after the plebiscite to decide the territory's political future, the people decide to join Nigeria, the trusteeship province will be administered as a separate province of Northern Nigeria. (*West Africa*, June 25.)

Cameroun Republic

New Government

FOLLOWING the first general election since independence, Government portfolios have been allocated as follows:

Charles Assale (Prime Minister); Arouna Njoya (Interior); Pierre Kamdem Ninyim (Health); Jean Ekwabi Eware (Finance); Charles Okala (Foreign Affairs); Victor Kanga (Justice); Germain Tsallie Mekongo (Economic Development); Oumanou Sanda (Public Works and Transport); Jean-Baptiste Mabaya (Army); Jean Akassou (Posts and Telegraph); Oubate Tahba Malla (Planning); Jean-Pierre Wandji Nkuimy (Labour and Social Welfare); Elie Tchoungui (Public Service).

Mineral Wealth

The Cameroon Mines Co. estimated that Bauxite reserves of 500 million tons have been located in the northern area of Adamawa, some three hundred miles from the coast. The total mineral resources of the area have not yet been established. The problem of transport might be overcome if the project for a railway from Douala in the Cameroun Republic to Tchad which has been discussed for many years could be achieved. There is, however, a rival scheme for a railway from Tchad to Bangui on the Congo which is to the advantage of the Central African Republic, but would not help the Cameroun Republic.

Gambia

Election Results

THE People's Progressive Party, led by Mr. D. K. Jarawa, a former government veterinary officer, won all twelve seats in the Protectorate. In the seven Colony constituencies, the United Party led by Mr. P. S. N'Jie, a lawyer, a former Minister of Education, won five seats and two went to Independents. Neither Mr. I. M. Garba-Jahumpa, nor the Rev. J. C. Faye, leaders of the Democratic Alliance and former Ministers, were re-elected.

There was a 55.5 per cent poll. The six members of the Executive Council appointed by the Governor are Mr. Jarawa; Mr. A. B. N'Jie, a former Registrar of Courts who is no relation to Mr. P. S. N'Jie; Mr. Howsoon Janneh, a trader; Seyfu Oma Momodou M'Baki, the senior chiefs' representative; Mr. Andrew Camara; and Mr. Shenf Sisay. The last two are ministers without portfolios. Mr. P. S. N'Jie, leader of the United Party, refused to accept a ministerial appointment without portfolio.

Ghana

Republic Established

GHANA became a republic at midnight on June 30. Parliament was prorogued for the last time by a Governor-General, and three days later Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President, opened the first session of Ghana's Republican Parliament.

The Queen's message read to the last sitting of the old parliament by Lord Listowel, the Governor-General, said: "I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may guide the destiny of the new republic and secure peace and happiness for its peoples."

Dr. Nkrumah, who was greeted by the crowded assembly with cries of "Man of destiny", said Ghana had adopted a republican constitution not through any lack of affection for Her Majesty, but rather "to interpret truly the aspirations and hopes of the people of Ghana and give full expression to our African personality".

Mr. S. D. Dombo, the Opposition Leader, said: ". . . The Queen may be assured that our respect for her person will continue, and we hope our association with Great Britain will grow, bloom, and bear fruit." (*The Times*, July 1.)

Lord Hailsham represented Britain at the Republic celebrations.

Ten women members of the Convention People's Party were elected to the National Assembly shortly before the Republic was set up. All the women were unopposed. The United Party (Opposition) decided not to put up candidates for the ten additional seats. Mr. K. Richardson, General Secretary of the Party, said it objected to the procedure adopted for the election of the women M.P.s and to the "introduction of new members into Parliament by the back door". The Government said that the procedure adopted this time was a purely temporary measure to get women into Parliament before Republic Day. In future the election of women would be in accordance with the normal electoral procedure.

In the Anglican Churches of Ghana prayers will be said, in future, for the President instead of the Queen.

To commemorate the Republic, Dr. Nkrumah moved into State House soon after the last Governor-General, Lord Listowel, left Accra. One of his first acts as President was to appoint a new Cabinet. It showed no major changes from the old one, although there now are fifteen ministers compared with twenty-three.

In the first Republican gazette, Dr. Nkrumah announced the establishment of twelve orders, medals, and awards to replace British decorations. Another presidential decree announced that death sentences passed before July 1 were being remitted to imprisonment, until the President issues an order for release. Prisoners serving more than three years' imprisonment were given a one-year remission. (*Guardian*, July 2.)

The Government has announced the terms used in the Assembly of "Government Side" and "Opposition Side" will be abolished. Members are now to sit in a "U"-shaped chamber.

Mr. K. Botsio explaining the changes asserted that the actual concept of an organized Opposition and use of the term "Opposition" were really unknown to Ghana, and confused people. The party system, however, would continue to be part of parliamentary life and everybody could continue to express his views freely.

West Africa (July 9) commented: "We have said that it was naive to expect a two-party system to operate in newly independent Ghana when, shortly before independence, Government and Opposition had been engaged in violent conflict, while at independence an armed insurrection, condoned, if not instigated, by Opposition supporters, had led to widespread bloodshed. Since independence relations between Government and Opposition, though occasionally in the National Assembly they have faintly resembled those of Westminster, have never encouraged the belief that a two-party system would operate, while the sudden enthusiasm of many leading Opposition supporters for crossing over to the Government has justified the belief that the difference between the two sides was not primarily one of policy.

"It remains to be seen whether, without formal recognition of an 'Opposition', Ghana's parliament will be an effective instrument of democracy—some theorists have maintained that the physical arrangements at Westminster have prevented the rise of many small parties, which a 'U'-shaped chamber encourages. Certainly it has long been obvious that C.P.P. back-benchers cause the Government more concern than the Opposition. The Government Party has always indulged in lively internal debate on almost all important matters, and if the conventional distinction of 'left' and 'right' in politics applies in Ghana, it applies to divisions inside the C.P.P. rather than to that between Government and Opposition. The new arrangement does not abolish parliamentary democracy or free speech; but the responsibility on the C.P.P. and its members is now greatly increased.

"Compared with the end of the Opposition, the changes in parliamentary procedure announced by Mr. Botsio are secondary. There will no longer be a Government Chief Whip: he will be called Parliamentary Secretary. An Opposition Whip will now be called an 'agent' (there will, presumably, be no Leader of the Opposition). The Parliamentary Secretaries will be called Parliamentary Private Secretaries. . . .

"The Speaker will on ceremonial occasions wear traditional Ghana

dress and on other occasions a lounge suit. The Clerks will no longer wear wigs, though they will wear gowns." (*West Africa*, July 9.)

Republican Constitution

Amendments to the Bill establishing a republican constitution¹ were presented to the National Assembly. These included amendment of a former Article, which safeguarded the right of the National Assembly to debate Presidential addresses. It has been replaced by a more comprehensive clause reading: "There shall be freedom of speech, debate and proceedings in the National Assembly and that freedom shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of the Assembly." The principle of universal franchise governing elections and referendums has been strengthened by the requirement that votes are to be cast in freedom and secrecy.

A new Article makes provision for a Public Seal and a Presidential Seal. This has been necessary since the Bill requires various appointments to be made under one Seal or the other. Appointments of Ministers are to be made under the Presidential Seal, since their function is to assist the President in the exercise of the executive power. On the same grounds, another alteration provides for a Minister to be removed from office by instrument under the Presidential Seal rather than the Public Seal.

Presidential messages to the National Assembly—which in the original draft it was proposed should be read by a "person appointed by the President"—will, in the revised version, be read by a Minister. This is to ensure that no stranger can be authorized by this provision to enter the Assembly. A new Section has been added to the Article which authorizes the President to enter into an agreement for the granting of a loan out of public funds. The additional clause requires such action to be ratified by the Assembly.

Several alterations have been made to proposals relating to law and justice. In addition to a Supreme Court, which is to be concerned mainly with matters of appeal, there is also to be a High Court. The Supreme Court is also to have sole jurisdiction over questions as to the validity of Acts of Parliament.

Another new Article assimilates the position of the Chief Justice to that of Lord Chancellor of England. The Chief Justice must be a Judge of the Supreme Court and cannot be removed from his judgeship. He may, however, be removed as Chief Justice if the President thinks fit. His capacity as Chief Justice makes him the administrative head of the Judicial Service and in relation to such non-judicial functions, it is considered that the President ought to be in a position to ensure that the Chief Justice will give his loyal co-operation. A section has been redrafted in the Article dealing with the Attorney-General to put it beyond doubt that he has no power to discontinue civil proceedings brought against the Republic. (*Ghana Today*, June 22.)

The World Situation and Africa

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah speaking after his return from the Commonwealth Conference said, "The more I think about the future of Africa in the context of the world situation, the more I am convinced of the dangers of fragmentation of our continent and the need for African unity. There is no alternative to African unity. Unless we can achieve this objective and come together in a political union, there can be no hope of economic or political stability for those African countries now emerging into independent nationhood."

The Prime Minister described the recent meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers as "most significant", and said he had made it plain that Ghana, by her own free will, had chosen to remain within the Commonwealth after she had become a Republic. The Commonwealth was a unique association of free, independent and sovereign states, irrespective of their racial origins, working for world peace and security in co-operation with all the other peace-loving nations of the world. It was important to stress that no member of the Commonwealth owed allegiance to another. Each was responsible for its own policies. It was in this spirit that Ghana had agreed to remain in the Commonwealth.

"Throughout the meetings," said Dr. Nkrumah, "our discussions were permeated again and again by the urgent need for a serious re-examination

¹DIGEST VII, 5.

of the whole basis of the Commonwealth association in the wider context of Africa's political and economic aspirations.

"We have made it quite clear that the survival of the Commonwealth as we know it today will depend on the extent to which the Commonwealth is able and prepared to adapt itself more effectively to its multi-racial character.

"The present internal affairs of South Africa cast a dark shadow over the proceedings of the Prime Ministers' Conference. But as a result of our informal and formal discussions it should be clear to the present Government of the Union of South Africa that its policy of apartheid and its continued blatant repression and suppression of the vast majority of Africans in South Africa are contrary to the multi-racial character of the Commonwealth, and condemned by all decent and fair-minded people throughout the world."²

"I have no doubt whatever that the rule of the majority will, in time, come to be accepted as the basis of government in South Africa. But we cannot sit down indefinitely and wait for this change of heart to take place. If the present racial policies in South Africa are continued, Ghana may be forced, in concert with other African States and countries and trade unions of Africa, to consider the initiation of a social diplomatic, political and economic boycott of South Africa. Let us not forget that the population of Africa is two hundred and fifty million."

Referring to world affairs, Dr. Nkrumah said the time was past when the future of mankind should be left to the leaders of four powers. World peace was a world responsibility and the voice of all nations had to be heard in support of this objective. The initiative should be taken by the United Nations to set up a committee chosen from its member nations and empowered to confer with Britain, France, the United States and Russia in a supreme effort to move towards, and to remain in, the path of peace.

"No lasting settlement can be achieved without the inclusion in future deliberations of representatives of the Chinese People's Republic or of the Afro-Asian countries and Africa," said the Prime Minister. "I see no reason why Africa should not be represented on such a peace conference through its representatives at the United Nations."

Addressing Parliament for the first time as President, Dr. Nkrumah said the Ghana Government would "continue to denounce" the arms race and the manufacturing and testing of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world. "In particular it will, in concert with other governments of Africa, find ways of persuading the French or any other government to desist from such tests on African soil," he said. "At an early stage we intend to urge that independent African states should agree to the formation of a free African non-nuclear block, independent of east or west, on the basis of a refusal to allow their territories to be used as military bases, and particularly the rejection of alliances dependent upon nuclear weapons." (*The Times*, July 5.)

The President promised that his Government would give "every support" to the Political Bureau which leaders of banned South African nationalist organizations "have decided to set up here as the mouthpiece of their people". He emphasized that "it will be extremely embarrassing to Ghana to remain indefinitely in the Commonwealth with a government that recognizes and practises apartheid and racial discrimination".

Of Ghana's achievements, he said: "We are creating the history of our nation as we translate into practical reality the dreams and visions of our forefathers. In twelve years from the fateful days of 1948, we have witnessed a remarkable transformation in our national life and have, through tenacious effort, worked steadily to our goal. We have, moreover, started a movement that has set the whole of Africa ablaze and which aims to blast the last bastions of colonialism, imperialism, and racialism from the face of the African continent." (*Guardian*, July 5.)

U.S.A. Trade Mission

The U.S.A. trade mission which visited Ghana early this year has published its report. It draws attention to lack of information about Ghana amongst U.S. exporters. The mission says that the strong position enjoyed by U.K. goods in Ghana is in no small measure due to their being "tailor-made" for West Africa while packaging and advertising are also well adapted. U.S. firms should note this. But the mission considers that, among

other things, logging and saw-mill equipment, heavy agricultural machinery, inexpensive washable men's wear, canned goods, magazines, air-conditioning equipment, outboard motors, and household appliances could be sold in Ghana by American firms in "significant volume". American firms are also urged to keep in touch with developments on the Volta project.

In discussing Ghana's exporters the report notes that with the exception of timber all natural products are marketed by government monopolies. They urge Ghana artisans to concentrate on articles proved to be most competitive in the export market, so that they can produce them in sufficient volume.

Several specific opportunities for private investment in both the agricultural and industrial fields are mentioned. Ghana, says the mission, is almost totally dependent on imported sugar—present annual consumption about thirty-five thousand tons—and several areas of the country are known to be suitable for sugar-cane. Good citrus fruit, pineapples, bananas, and pawpaw are already grown in Ghana, but not as yet on estate scale for canning and juicing and for shipment of fresh fruit to Europe. There appears to be some potential for growing rubber in south-west Ghana, where a few small estates have existed since World War II.

The mission found Ghana "excitingly alive", and vigorously pursuing economic development. Government even in the most remote areas appeared to function well. Although the percentage of literacy is high, trained labour and managerial talent is scarce. The mission think that a substantial amount of saving is not yet being employed productively. Although the established foreign firms would retain their important economic position for a long time, the development of Ghana business-men was proceeding so rapidly that U.S. exporters should cultivate contacts among them. (*West Africa*, June 25.)

Campaigning Against Corruption

Dr. Nkrumah announced at a press conference that a permanent commission would be set up to investigate mercenary practices which lead to bribery and corruption. He said the people of Ghana had to take "calculated risks" in their efforts to establish a healthy and a prosperous nation. It would be the duty of the commission to investigate all reports of mercenary and dishonest practices.

Dr. Nkrumah said he thought the root of the problem was "lack of integrity and truthfulness" and the moral courage to be able to say: "If I am wrong I am wrong." He added: "If we can impart the right attitude in our schools I am quite sure we will undermine bribery and corruption." (*Ghana Today*, June 22.)

Guinea

Conditions of Investment

NEW regulations on capital investment in Guinea have been published in Conakry. Persons wishing to invest capital in projects in Guinea may do so either through mixed enterprises undertaken in co-operation with the State of Guinea, or through private companies registered in Guinea. Only investments which will aid the balance of payments in Guinea will be accepted.

Guinea reserves the right to buy any private enterprises, or the private part of any mixed enterprise, under conditions to be agreed between the two parties, in case of "vital necessity for the Guinea economy". Transfers of income, interest and savings from agreed enterprises will be fixed for each year in relation to the state of the balance of payments.

Mining development, insurance companies, air and sea transport, and banks are not included in these arrangements, but will be dealt with under separate regulations.

A delegation led by M. D. Alioune visited London to study possibilities of buying agricultural machinery, vehicles and other equipment to help Guinea's first three-year plan. This would give effect to the Anglo-Guinea trade agreement which provides for trade worth £875,000 in each direction. M. Alioune said Guinea could provide bauxite, iron ore, diamonds, coffee and fruit.

Trade figures for 1959 show (figures for 1958 in brackets) that Eastern

bloc countries received 16.2 per cent (0.8 per cent) of Guinea's exports and provided 9.3 per cent (0.7 per cent) of her imports. French zone countries continued to be the most important trading countries, accounting for 74 per cent of imports and 51 per cent of exports. From eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia supplied sugar, machinery and textiles to the value of £700,000, and East Germany rice and wheat to the value of £500,000. East Germany was the biggest customer in eastern Europe, mainly for bananas. (*West Africa*, May 28, June 4 and 11.)

Plots and Rumours

A Special Correspondent writing in the *Guardian* (May 18) said: "Plots, people's courts, secret trials, and death sentences . . . This news from the Republic of Guinea in West Africa has quite overshadowed the fact that Guinea's alumina factory, the biggest industrial enterprise yet built in West Africa, has just come into operation. Guinea is full of rumours, the Government makes endless pronouncements about 'monstrous' plots: though few quite know what it is all about, nineteen people have been sentenced to death and several others to long periods of forced labour. Those sentenced include some French—two of them managed to escape to Senegal, though—and the whole Non-African population appears to be in a state of approaching panic. Indeed it is questionable whether the White employees at the alumina factory, without whom it certainly cannot run, will be persuaded by their management to stay on. Certainly it is hard to see how Guinea can attract any new foreign investment or for that matter enjoy continued international confidence if the present atmosphere persists. . . .

"The atmosphere in Guinea has certainly changed since the first days of mass enthusiasm for M. Sékou Touré's independence régime. The change has come about slowly but is undeniable—the popular momentum has slowed down; people are growing suspicious of each other, the one-party system is killing instead of kindling traditional African methods of consultation and mass participation, and the Government's doctrinaire approach to agricultural reform has created many enemies among the peasants. The *joie de vivre* seems to have gone out of Guinea's life.

"Guinea has many friends both inside and outside Africa. But these friends have been wondering for some time just what has happened to M. Sékou Touré's ambition to develop a democratic State in Guinea, independent of both East and West and working towards African unity. The plot allegations, the arrests, and heavy sentences may provide a warning to opposition elements; but they are scarcely designed to encourage free speech; talk about imperialist interference and of military guarantees from Communist China do not exactly reflect political neutrality, nor are allegations about the complicity of other African governments in the plot against the régime designed to further African unity. Guinea's friends must be hoping that M. Sékou Touré will still be able to extricate himself from the vicious circle into which he has been led by doctrinaire insistence on one-party government and by his flirtation with international Communism."

A senior United States Government official, Mr. James P. Grant, giving evidence before the United States House of Representatives' appropriations sub-committee, predicted that Guinea might be the first African country to "go behind the iron curtain". He was supporting a foreign aid programme for 1960-1, urging the spending of \$24,300,000 (about £8,680,000) in technical co-operation for Africa and \$20 million (about £7,142,000) in special assistance. The congressmen were also asked to consider a request for \$1 million in technical aid to Guinea, compared with the \$350,000 provided for 1959-60. (*The Times*, June 10.)

Ivory Coast

Industrial Development

THE Premier, M. Houphouët-Boigny, has announced plans to make the Ivory Coast "the most modern state of the West African Coast". He said the scheme would cost 3,000 million African francs (£4.41 million). The country is due to receive in aid from the European Economic Commission something in the region of 1,200 million African francs (£1.7 million). The

French state-owned Renault firm is to build an assembly line at Abidjan, to supply West and Central African countries with motor vehicles and tractors. The Ivory Coast Cabinet has approved the project, authorizing the Government to conclude a long-term agreement with Renault. The Company plans to invest 300 million African francs (£441,000) in the project. The plant would be built this year. It would supply West and Central African countries "within and without the Community". Production would be fifteen vehicles a day at the outset. (*West Africa*, May 21.)

Mali

Independence

MALI became independent on June 20. In West Africa there now remain only Gambia and Portuguese Guinea without any prospect of independence in the near future. For West Africa the independence of Mali has a special significance as it represents the first serious effort by African politicians to save the old French West Africa from "balkanization".

The Mali Federation, which is vast in size (541,000 sq. miles) but small in population (5,900,000 inhabitants) has not had a smooth passage. It nearly collapsed last month during the pre-independence negotiations between Senegal and Sudan, when delegates from the poorer but more populous Sudan demanded a unitary constitution for Mali, to be led by a powerful, American-style President. More left-wing than their Senegalese partners, the Sudanese felt that the present federal constitution with its three governments was wasteful of Mali's scant resources. The Senegalese protested successfully that if Mali were to attract other states she must retain her federal constitution and be headed by a President in the style of the Third Republic. But this protest was just as much designed to preserve Senegal's own autonomy.

Many have predicted the early break-up of Mali, especially as Senegal is providing most of the money, while Sudan tends to call the political tune. But leaders like M. Senghor of Senegal and M. Modibo Keita, of Sudan, the Federal Prime Minister, are deeply committed to the ideal of African unity and are not lightly going to witness the failure of this first experiment. Senegal, the more reluctant partner, has a deep economic interest in holding Mali together, as Sudan exports most of her products along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

If countries of the *Conseil d'Entente* take their independence, Mali will try to persuade Upper Volta and Dahomey to rejoin the federation. Already eyes are cast on Gambia, which looks increasingly out of place against the map of independent Africa. One of Mali's main problems will be that of the large European population in Senegal, estimated at 40,000 of whom some 25,000 are in Dakar, the federal capital. At present race relations are excellent, but one hears rumblings of discontent among the younger generation of Senegalese against the number of Europeans doing jobs that in Nigeria, for instance, have long since been the province of Africans. (*The Times*, June 17.)

Nigeria

New Speaker Appointed

MR. JAJA ANUCHA WACHUKU (N.C.N.C.), the first Nigerian ever to be appointed as Speaker of the House of Representatives, was unanimously elected and installed on May 2, following the retirement of Sir Frederic Metcalfe, who had held the post for nearly six years. Mallam Jalo Waziri (N.P.C.) was elected Deputy-Speaker.

Accepting his appointment, Mr. Wachuku said: "Nigeria, as we know today, is quasi-colonial in its status, but as from 1st October, whether she likes it or not, she will be compelled by circumstance to play a major role in world affairs. She cannot do that if her house is not in order. If this Parliament is not stable and if its Members do not conduct the affairs of the nation in accordance with the standards as acceptable elsewhere, it will be impossible for her to play that role that destiny has entrusted upon her. Therefore, you will see that it is a very grave responsibility on the part of

the person who has been called upon to sit on this Chair to guide the proceedings of this House." (*Federal Nigeria*, May.)

Party Politics

In an article entitled "Who will Rule Nigeria" *The Economist* (July 9) said: "Save for the last legal rites Nigeria is independent; at all points where real power is exerted, it is already Nigerianized. Nigeria is apparently Africa's greatest democratic state, with a democracy that is anchored in federalism; three stable political parties (the Northern People's Congress, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and the Action Group) entrenched in their respective regions (North, East and West) and so balanced in the federal parliament that none can rule there alone and one must form that basic safeguard of liberty and outlet for popular discontent, a substantial, ambitious and vote-hungry parliamentary opposition. . . .

"If it is held important that parliamentary opposition should survive, then one thing should be watched: the position of the Action Group, which rules the Western regional house by forty-eight seats to twenty-eight (with four unattached). The Action Group took a bad beating in the federal elections and now musters seventy-three seats in the federal house to 134 N.P.C., eighty-nine N.C.N.C. and sixteen others. It has certainly lost face in the country. . . .

"It exists however by virtue of its hold on the West, the richest region. But the Action Group holds the West more weakly than either of the other two parties hold their own regions, and elections are due next summer at the latest. . . .

"The N.C.N.C. claims that it would have won a Western election had one been held immediately after the federal one. . . .

"The Group, under the new Western premier, Chief Akintola, and the federal opposition leader, Chief Awolowo, evidently so far agrees with this that it is widely thought that they will go to the country by next September. . . .

"Nigeria's political pundits forecast that the Action Group will at best scrape home. They all agree, however, that if it fails, it will probably die as a live opposition, probably also as a political party. This would be decisive. Nigeria would then be ruled by a North-South coalition, which would divide the country dangerously, and would open the way to change the British-made constitution in a dictatorial direction, which is probably impossible while three strong parties survive. As it is, the N.P.C. and N.C.N.C. rule by a pact. The N.C.N.C. has eight ministers in a ministry of eighteen, including the ministry of finance. (This is held by Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, who has just set the Muslim and increasingly pro-Arab Northerners at loggerheads by agreeing to Israeli loans and credits.) In addition, it has been promised the ministry of foreign affairs after independence. Finally, and most important of all, the bargain entered into after the federal elections includes the promise of the Governor-Generalship for Dr. Azikiwe.

"There is many a slip between cup and lip. 'Zik' is not H.E. yet. But it seems the most likely of all possibilities. . . . It means, however, the appointment to a figurehead position of an active politician; for not only has Zik, as President of the Senate (also an avowedly non-political post), declared that he is still a politician in politics, but in fact Zik is the N.C.N.C., will always be so while he lives, and the N.C.N.C. would probably collapse without him. . . .

"Clearly, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the present Prime Minister, would find Dr. Azikiwe a thorn in his flesh. But Dr. Azikiwe has for some time now cultivated a surprising friendship with Sir Ahmadu Bello, Saraduna of Sokoto, Premier of the Northern region. The two leaders are remarkably close. And as Sir Ahmadu is stronger by far than Sir Abubakar, Zik may well be in a position to enlarge the Governor-General's prerogatives with impunity; at least for a time. In the end, he—or the N.C.N.C.—would break with (and probably declare electoral war on) the North; but long before that he would have hoped to eliminate the Action Group as an opposition party. The Action Group even thinks this might be attempted by instituting direct rule in the West, after faked 'disturbances' by the Zikist vanguard (young and very left-wing N.C.N.C. supporters).

"In this tangled skein there is immense scope for the proclivities of Nigerian politicians of all parties. The danger is that it will distract their

attention from the urgent unsolved problems of an underdeveloped country, and weaken Nigeria's voice in West African councils generally. In this all-against-all an agile opposition may survive, for a time. But whether this would give the electorate a genuine opportunity to change the government and to check ministerial and presidential (or vice-regal) excesses has yet to be seen."

Loan Agreements Made

Mr. Reginald Maudling, British President of the Board of Trade, and Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Federal Minister of Finance, have signed on behalf of their respective governments an agreement for a loan of £12 million to Nigeria on attainment of independence. The loan is for purchase of the United Kingdom goods or services required for development of Nigerian economy and will be repayable by instalments over twenty years.

Chief Okotie-Eboh thanking the British Government said: "It is gratifying to receive this loan, for it goes to show that Nigeria is creditworthy. This agreement also symbolizes continuing interest of Government and people of the United Kingdom in Nigeria."

The United Nations Technical Assistance Board has allocated £450,000 for technical assistance in Nigeria for the year 1961-2. At the United Nations Ecosoc session ended on April 20, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjold, stressed United Nations' special responsibility to provide additional aid to the newly independent countries in Africa. (*News from Nigeria*, May 21.)

Western Region Governor Appointed

Sir Adesoji Aderami, the Oni of Ife, has been appointed Governor of Western Nigeria. The Action Group, Western Nigeria's governing party, said that the Oni's appointment reflected double credit on the Party, and that it showed that the Action Group leads all others in things making for complete liberation from foreign domination. The statement adds: "The Action Group has again demonstrated its high regard for traditional chieftaincy."

The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons has congratulated the Oni on his appointment, but asked "how a man of 70 could usefully carry out the onerous duties of office".

The Action Group newspaper, *Daily Service*, said: "This will not be a strange assignment for the Oni of Ife. He enjoys and should enjoy the confidence and respect, if not the affection, of even the bitterest enemies of the Government Party. He is a non-controversial figure to whom all sides will have free access, and who is well suited to lead the region as head of state in the difficult and early years of independence."

The N.C.N.C. newspaper, *West African Pilot*, suggested that "the Oni will discover that as Governor his role will no longer be that of the propelling force behind a political party but of head of state mellowing down the temper of active politicians".

The newspaper then postulated whether the Oni would retain his traditional office and considered "his appointment may well compromise the tradition of the Yorubas. It may be asked: Is the office of Governor superior to the age-old institution of Obaship in Yorubaland, or is the Action Group suggesting that a rise from Obaship to Governorship is a promotion?" (*The Times*, May 27.)

Education in the West

The Western Region launched its Free Universal Primary Education programme in 1955. By 1958 there were 54,000 school-leavers and in 1959 the figure rose to 62,000. The sharp increase due at the end of 1960 is because the first children enrolled under the free education plan will complete their schooling along with those studying under the Region's former system.

The Region has also expanded its Secondary Modern and Secondary Grammar Schools. In 1958 there were 262 such schools in Western Nigeria. Now there are 422. Enrolment has climbed from 43,000 pupils in 1958 to 64,000 this year.

A boarding school for deaf and dumb children has been opened at Ibadan. It is supported partly by the Christian Mission of Deaf Africans and partly by the Western Regional Ministry of Education, as well as public contributions. (*News from Nigeria*, June 21.)

Sierra Leone

Coalition Government

FOLLOWING the decision of the main political parties to form a United National Front, Sir Milton Margai, the Premier, has now reorganized his Cabinet and formed a Coalition Government. Four new Ministers have been appointed and Mr. Mustapha, Minister of Finance in the previous Cabinet, has assumed additional duties as Deputy Premier.

The new Ministers are Mr. Albert Margai (National Resources), Mr. C. Rogers-Wright (Housing and Country Planning), Mr. G. Dickson Thomas (Social Welfare), and Mr. R. G. O. King (Ministry of State Development). Dr. John Karefa-Smart retains the portfolio of Lands and Survey but will be responsible also for Defence and External Affairs. As a result of the new appointments Mr. A. J. Demby, former Minister of National Resources, now assumes the portfolio of Mines and Labour, while Kande Burch will now be responsible only for Public Works (previously he also looked after Housing), and Mr. Ned John will concentrate on Education. The new appointments will increase the Cabinet by fifteen members.

Mr. M. S. Mustapha is deputy leader of the S.L.P.P. and represents a Freetown constituency. He entered politics in 1951 after spending three years in the U.K. as a law student at Lincoln's Inn. In 1953 he was appointed Minister of Works and Transport and in 1958 became Sierra Leone's first Finance Minister.

Mr. Albert Margai, a brother of Sir Milton and founder-member of the S.L.P.P., now leads the P.N.P. and is a former Minister of Local Government.

Togoland

New Government

THE new Government consists of: Sylvano Olympio, Prime Minister; Paulin Freita, Foreign Affairs; Hospice Coco, Trade and Finance; Paulim Ajoute, Labour and Justice; and Theophile Mally, Interior, Information and Press.

All the Ministers are members of the County of Togolese Unity (C.U.T.).

United Nations

The United Nations Security Council, meeting in New York, unanimously endorsed the admission of Togoland as the eighty-fourth member of the U.N. The United Nations Special Fund and the Government of Togo signed an agreement for a three-year project of soil survey of areas in Northern and Southern Togo. The special fund has approved the allocation of £234,000 for this project. The counterpart contribution of the Government of Togo was estimated at £88,000. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations will be the executing agency.

Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, the Premier, has said that Togoland is the first independent African country which has asked to become an associate member of the European Economic Community. The Prime Minister stressed that political independence should not lead to economic conservatism. He said that old rules established by the trusteeship power will be replaced by new laws allowing for the fullest possible economic growth of the country. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, May 30, 31, and June 2.)

PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Addis Ababa Conference

THE second conference of independent Africa states was held in Addis Ababa during June.

Richard Pankhurst reporting in *West Africa* (July 2 and 9) said that the largest delegation was that of the United Arab Republic, numbering fourteen. Ghana sent eight delegates, led by the Minister of External Affairs, and six alternative representatives, Guinea, Morocco and Liberia also had

eight delegates each, Nigeria had seven delegates, led by Malam Maitama Sule, Federal Minister of Mines and Power, Ethiopia had six delegates and six alternatives; Libya and Sudan had five delegates each; Cameroun, Somalia and Tunisia four delegates. The Algerian Provisional Government had five.

Observers included Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Mbiyu Koinanage, founder of the Kenya Independent Schools, and James Gichuru, Chairman of the Kenya African National Union, Fanuel Kozonguisi, President of the South West African National Union and a well-known petitioner to the U.N. There were also four South African refugees, and observers from Angola and Uganda, as well as Dr. Hastings Banda. There were only two women delegates: Woizerit Judith Imru, of Ethiopia, and Madame Barry née Diallo, of Guinea. . . .

The Emperor, Haile Selassie, emphasized that the conference was meeting at a moment of crisis in the relations of the Great Powers. The breakdown of the Summit Conference was a matter of concern to Africans, as well as to the rest of humanity. . . .

Taking up a point now increasingly made by leaders of independent African states, the Emperor then issued a warning: While co-operating with all states and international organizations, African states must not "accept formulae that perpetuate colonial régimes or sow seeds of division among our countries".

On African unity the Ghana delegation took the lead. Mr. Ako Adjei urged a "complete change in our traditional attitudes and a drastic reorganization of our thinking habits", and proposed establishment of a Community of Independent African States.

For Nigeria, Malam Maitama Sule, in his clear, precise English, said that rapid advance towards African unity seemed improbable. . . . Though Pan-Africanism was "the only solution to our problems in Africa" a Union of African States was "premature". Nigeria proposed no more than an Organization of African States with a permanent secretariat in Africa. He agreed, however, that they must break barriers to trade and migration, link roads and other communications, and exchange scholarships.

Mr. Rudolf Grimes, leader of the Liberian delegation, proposed immediate establishment of West African Regional Co-operation.

Following their Emperor's lead, two Ethiopian Ministers, for example, urged the need for an African development bank, to finance development "without strings". They also urged a "merger" of airlines, and said that Ethiopia, with her well-organized air service, would merge "for the common good"; Ethiopia, they noted too, had already given well over two hundred scholarships to other African countries.

Ahmed Kheir, Foreign Minister of the Sudan, which was strongly represented in spite of the apparent withdrawal of the new Government from Pan-African affairs, urged the need for economic co-operation, especially in use of Africa's great rivers such as the Nile. He proposed that Arabic should be taught in all Africa's schools. The Libyan delegate, Whibi el Bouti, announced that his country, too, had a scholarship programme for Africans.

The two main issues were, however, Algeria and South Africa, though announcement of General de Gaulle's offer to the Algerians muted, to some extent, conference fervour. . . .

Nigeria demanded more aid to the Algerian Provisional Government, increased publicity for the Algerian cause, and ceaseless activity in the United Nations. Liberia proposed a special committee of the United Nations on the issue.

Discussion on South Africa centred on the problem of South West Africa, and the more efficient prosecution of the boycott of South African goods. The need for this was strongly canvassed by the six refugee observers.

The chief resolutions in the end were unanimously agreed. They included a call to France and the Provisional Government of Algeria to negotiate a cease-fire and to introduce "self-determination". There was an appeal to African states to assist Algeria materially and diplomatically. It was decided to follow up the decision of Ethiopia and Liberia to introduce before the International Court the question of relieving South Africa of the mandate over South West Africa. All African states were called on to boycott South Africa totally. Arab states were asked to cut off all oil and petrol

supplies and Commonwealth states to demand South Africa's exclusion from the Commonwealth. A special fund is to be created for those who are fighting for freedom in Africa and all colonial powers are to be invited to establish a timetable for independence for their African territories. One resolution demanded the dissolution of the Central African Federation, self-government for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and "one man—one vote" in Southern Rhodesia.

A council for economic co-operation, as well as one for educational, cultural, and scientific co-operation, is to be established. The conference condemned nuclear tests in Africa and warned African states against economic "neo-colonialism", recommending "effective control" of foreign firms established in Africa.

GENERAL

French Community

THE four republics of Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, and Upper Volta which had joined together in the *Conseil de L'Entente* became independent on July 11. This will entitle them to separate representation at the United Nations. They demanded immediate independence saying that they wanted negotiations about their future relationship with France to start after independence.

The Economist (June 25) said that the move which was made by M. Houphouet-Boigny, the Prime Minister of Ivory Coast and a former French Cabinet Minister, had produced dismay and mortification in Mali and very mixed reactions in Ghana, Guinea and Liberia. It remained to be seen to what extent the newly independent countries would look to France for future support, would remain wholly independent or would become an even larger and more profitable area of influence for the Russians, Czechs and Chinese.

When the French National Assembly debated the ratification of the agreements establishing the new status of the Federation of Mali and Madagascar a Corsican deputy criticized the way in which Parliament was expected to debate fundamental problems about the form and development of the Community. He spoke of the "deplorable secession of Guinea", the only territory of the former French Union which opted out of the Community at the time of the referendum in 1958, and expressed disquiet about the future attitude of the new independent African states in the United Nations.

Earlier in the debate, M. Debré, the Prime Minister, pointed out that the agreements which were up for ratification concerned not only the transfer of responsibility to Mali and Madagascar but also their co-operation agreements with France, which left them within the Community. The basis on which the Community stood had changed, particularly in the sense that the confederal aspect was more to the fore than previously, but there still remained what he called "a will for political co-ordination". As regards the four Entente states, M. Debré pointed out that these countries had shown their will to co-operate and their preoccupation over future relations with France. France was ready to transfer responsibilities as she had already done to Mali and Madagascar, and the ensuing negotiations would be all the more effective because they would be with faithful friends of France, who intended to continue co-operating with her. "No one can have any doubt about the continuance of the Community," the Prime Minister added. (*The Times*, June 10.)

On July 12 agreements embodying the transfer of power from France to the governments of (French) Congo, Tchad, and the Central African Republic were signed. Agreements of co-operation between the new states and France were also initialised. Unlike the four Entente states, these former territories of French Equatorial Africa have negotiated their co-operation agreements at the same time as their independence.

At the signing ceremony, M. Debré said that though independence did not solve every problem, the new states had the advantage of having had years of political experience. In any case France would not haggle about the co-operation which she would accord "in all freedom and on a friendly and fraternal basis". (*The Times*, July 13.)

Israeli Enterprise

Both in technical help and in commercial development Israel is playing an important role in different parts of Africa. *Solel Boneh*, the construction and industrial concern which is part of the *Histadrut* Trade Union Federation, has projects worth approximately £13 million in the new African states. In Ghana, Israeli experts include the principal of the flying school at Accra and the doctor working out a plan for public health.

The new industrial centre at Port Harcourt, E. Nigeria, has been planned by an expert from the Technion Institute in Haifa. Israeli engineers are at work on the construction of mountain roads in Ethiopia. The Ghana National Construction Co. (which is controlled 60 per cent by the Ghana Government and 40 per cent by *Solel Boneh*) has received the contract for the international airport at Accra. The Black Star Shipping Line was also originally 40 per cent owned by the Ismaeli Zim Navigation Co. but in accordance with deliberate Ismaeli policy this has now been brought wholly under Ghanaian control. The policy is to get out of projects once they are established and to find new ones. With Guinea there is an agreement covering the purchase of diamond production: in Sierra Leone a construction company of which *Solel Boneh* owns 40 per cent: in Liberia an Israeli firm is building a new hotel in Monrovia, the capital. In Nigeria, Israeli projects are involved in a large scheme for the water supplies in industry, agriculture and local communities.

One part of the general approach is that for each Israeli employed in an African country, two Africans go to Israel for training.

Between 1956 and 1959 exports from Israel to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have risen from a few hundred pounds to approximately £150,000.

Israel regards the establishment of closer links and greater goodwill in Africa as of the greatest diplomatic importance. *Histadrut* opened an Institute in April where experts can learn background information and the languages of the different countries in Africa and Asia where they are likely to be used.

The Weizmann Institute is holding a special conference in August 1960 to discuss the possibilities of building up an elite of scientists and technologists in underdeveloped countries. (*Der Klare Blick*, July 6, Switzerland.)

BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to Africa Bureau Library)

Africa: What After Independence? A Presence Africaine pamphlet issued by the Committee of African Organizations. One of a series planned of contributions from persons with specialized knowledge of African conditions. (Price 6d.)

GARDINER, R. K., and JUDD, H. O. The Development of Social Administration. An attempt to elucidate the principles on which social administration should be developed, with particular reference to the U.K. and British West Africa. O.U.P. (Price 12s. 6d.)

SKEFFINGTON, Arthur. Tanganyika in Transition. Describes the background to the constitutional changes and assesses the problems which confront Tanganyika. (Obtainable from the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth St., S.W.1. Post free price 4s. 2d.)

SLADE, Ruth. The Belgian Congo: Some Recent Changes. Published for the Institute of Race Relations by O.U.P. (Price 5s.)

HUTCHINSON, Alfred. Road to Ghana. A mixture of escape, travel and political actuality written by one of the accused in the South African Treason Trial. Gollancz (price 18s.)

BENSON, Mary. The Badge of Slavery. A pamphlet describing the Pass Laws of South Africa published by Christian Action. (Price 9d.)

CHIDZERO, Bernard T. G. Partnership in Practice. Text of a lecture given at a conference on multi-racial communities in East and Central Africa, organized by the African Committee of the Sword of the Spirit. (Price 1s. 6d.)

SEGAL, Ronald. The Tokolosh. A grimly humorous satire set in a South African township written by the Editor of *Africa South*. (Price 6s.)

PIENAAR, S., and SAMPSON, A. South Africa—Two Views of Separate Development. Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations by O.U.P. (Price 5s.)

STONEHOUSE, John. Prohibited Immigrant. An account of his experiences and the political situation in Uganda, Kenya and Central Africa, by the Labour M.P. who was deported from Northern Rhodesia by the Federal Immigration Authorities. (Price 21s.)

A New Deal in Central Africa. Edited by Colin Leys and Cranford Pratt, this book grew out of the conference papers of a week-end Conference on Central Africa held in Oxford in 1959. Among the contributors are Dr. Bernard Chidzero and Guy Clutton-Brock. Published by Heinemann. (Price 21s.)

ROSKAM, K. L. Apartheid and Discrimination. Some remarks with regard to the relationships between the White and respective non-White ethnic groups in the Union of South Africa. Published in Holland by Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V. Leyden.

POLLAK, Prof. Hansi. Social Development since Union. A pamphlet issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations. (Price 2s. 6d.)

WILLIAMS, Shirley. Central Africa: The Economics of Inequality. Fabian Commonwealth Bureau. (Price 3s.)

Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau. (The Corfield Report.) Published by H.M.S.O. (Price 15s.) Cmd. 1030.

Report on the proceedings of the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 15–December 13, 1959. H.M.S.O. (Price 6s. 6d.) Cmd. 992.

HORRELL, Muriel. Race Classification in South Africa—Its Effects on Human Beings. A Fact Paper published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (Price 2s. 6d.)

Days of Crisis in South Africa. (Events up to May 15, 1960). A Fact Paper compiled by Muriel Horrell and published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (Price 2s. 6d.)

OLIVER, R. A., and FAGE, J. D. The Journal of African History, Vol. I, 1960, No. 1. (Price 20s.) Subscriptions 30s. net per annual Vol. of two parts post free. Cambridge University Press.

Uganda 1959. Annual report, published by H.M.S.O. (Price 10s. 6d.)

Sierra Leone. Report for the Year 1958. H.M.S.O. (Price 7s. 6d.)

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Second Africa Bureau Conference on South Africa was held at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, on June 25 and 26. Professor Kenneth Kirkwood was Chairman of the Conference; Professor A. J. Ayer, who is Chairman of the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport, presided for the session addressed by the Bishop of Johannesburg. Other speakers included Mr. Tennyson Makiwane, Mr. Nana Muhomo, the Rev. Michael Scott, Mr. Fanuel Kosonguisi, Miss Hannah Stanton and Sir Fulque Agnew. Reports on the activities of their organizations were given by Mr. Martin Ennals of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr. Peter Howell of the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport, and Mr. Guy Routh of the South African Freedom Association. The majority of those attending the conference were South Africans, which made for lively discussions. Mr. Routh arranged a concert of South African artists on Saturday evening at which Bruno Raikin, the well-known South African pianist, played; Mr. Routh and a choir sang South African songs, both traditional and modern, and the evening was very much enjoyed.

Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, Member of the Kenya Legislative Council, visited the Bureau while he was in Britain on a course arranged by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The Secretary had a brief meeting with Mr. Tom Mboya when he passed through London at the end of June on his way to an I.C.F.T.U. Conference in Brussels.

The Bureau's evidence to the Monckton Commission has been printed as a pamphlet entitled *Britain's Dilemma in Central Africa*. It has been distributed to members of the Bureau, and further copies are obtainable from the Secretary, price 9d.

Members of the Executive and staff have continued to address meetings in many parts of Britain. Mr. Keith Lye has now visited most of the Africa Councils and is planning speakers' programmes, study courses and other activities with them for the coming months. His tour has enabled him to get an overall picture of the work of the Councils and the extent to which the Bureau can assist them.

THE AFRICA BUREAU

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1 (Tate Gallery 0701)

Honorary Presidents: The Very Rev. Principal John Baillie, Sir Maurice Bowra, Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, The Rev. T. Corbishley, S.J., Mr. James Crawford, The Right Hon. Isaac Foot, Professor Arthur Lewis, The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, The Rt. Rev. A. Reeves, The Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster, The Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson, Professor Roger Wilson.

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